

II

ON THE NATIONAL, POLITICAL, AND
COMMERCIAL IMPORTANCE
OF
A RAILWAY
FROM
HALIFAX TO QUEBEC.

WITH
AN APPENDIX,

CONTAINING
EXTRACTS FROM IMPORTANT DESPATCHES AND ACTS OF
PARLIAMENT RELATING THERETO,
MINUTES OF PROCEEDINGS AT MEETINGS,
&c. &c. &c.

WITH A MAP.

LONDON:
WILLIAM PENNY, 57, LINCOLN'S-INN FIELDS.
1858.

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ON glancing over the vast expanse of the North American continent, the eye is directed to the immense extent of British possessions, measuring 4,000,000 square miles, and forming nearly one-eighth of the habitable globe, an extent of country one-fourth larger than the whole territory of the United States. And when we find that throughout the whole of this vast extent of British territory, bordering on the Atlantic Ocean for upwards of 5,000 miles, there is but one safe open seaport accessible at all seasons, and that port the finest in the world, and the nearest to England and to Europe, all the rest being closed by ice for six months of the year, it becomes of the utmost importance, both in a political and commercial point of view, that this port should be connected with the interior by railway. But when we discover that from four to five hundred miles of British territory, of the richest possible description in natural wealth, must be traversed before we arrive at the commencement of railway communication, and for the want of such connection by railway, we are compelled to travel and send our mails and merchandise by *a circuitous route through the United States*, we come to the conclusion, that a link in the great chain of England's communication with her vast western territory is wanting.

Halifax, in Nova Scotia, is the finest harbour on the whole continent of America, and is nearer to Europe by 400 miles than any other open port in that vast area of the New World. It is England's great naval station in the Atlantic Ocean, the packet station of the British and North American royal mail service. It is accessible at all seasons, and, as a harbour, stands unrivalled. For, whilst the Atlantic seaports

are sometimes frozen as far south as Charleston, in South Carolina, the harbour of Halifax is never closed; and such an eminent authority as the Honourable Samuel Cunard has stated that during twenty years his steamers have never once been kept out of Halifax, but that they have been out of Boston many times.

Halifax is distant from Galway 2,184 miles, and from Liverpool 2,466 miles; being about 600 miles nearer than New York, and 400 miles nearer than Boston or Portland. If a straight line be drawn from Cape Clear in Ireland to New York, it will cut through or pass close to Halifax. From Halifax to Quebec, by an easy and practicable route for a railway, is about 600 miles. Of this line from Halifax to Truro 60 miles is already constructed, and from Trois Pistoles to Quebec 114 miles is in course of construction; thus leaving a link of about 450 miles to be constructed, and which runs through a fine fertile country, rich in all the sources of agricultural, mineral, and commercial wealth, and where there is abundant room for all the surplus population of the mother-country, there being in the counties through which the railway would pass upwards of 14,000,000 acres of ungranted Crown lands.

Quebec, the natural capital of British North America, the key of the river Saint Lawrence and great American lakes, is a focus of commerce not only to the vast British possessions, but also the great northern and western territories of the United States; and from this city extends the greatest and most important internal navigation and railway communication in the world.

But Quebec, during six months of the year, has no outlet to the sea, being closed by ice, and communication with England and with the important provinces of Nova Scotia and New Brunswick is, in consequence, carried through the United States, solely for the want of this railway connection with Halifax. The English mails are conveyed through that country at an annual expense of more than £20,000. But if the port of Halifax was made the terminus of the voyage of the ocean steamers, fully £50,000 per annum might be saved in the Atlantic Mail service, independent of the saving of the sum now paid to the United States for carrying the Canada mails. Instead of the British mails being carried over the American railways, it must be obvious that the mails and passengers destined for New York, Boston, and other American cities, would be carried over a great section of the railway from Halifax.

But even the large sum now paid to the United States

is but one of the smallest inconveniences that we suffer. Our postal treaty with them is such that they can terminate it at six weeks' notice; *and they did so* in the following instance:—When the Collin's line of steamers were put on by the United States in opposition to Mr. Cunard's line, they wanted to have all the English letters sent by their ships; and when the demand was refused, they gave notice to terminate the treaty; which caused the greatest confusion and alarm to the mercantile world.

But if the proposed line of railway were made, we should be enabled to turn the tables upon the United States, not by any foolish attempt to *shut them out*,—because Halifax was open when Boston was closed,—but by carrying their mails to their great flourishing cities of the far west nearly two days in advance of the route by Portland, Boston, or New York; for the mails would have arrived at Quebec before the steamer could reach a port in the United States, and be nearly at Chicago before she arrived at New York. Even the mails for New York, by being landed at Halifax and conveyed over the branch line by St. John's, would reach that city twenty hours earlier than at present.

The importance of this railway to the British empire in a political and military point of view is immense. The United States has one vast network of railways, extending from the shores of the Atlantic almost to the Rocky Mountains, and from the banks of the Missouri and Mississippi to the shores of the great lakes of the St. Lawrence. She could in the course of three days concentrate an army on the Canadian frontier, and if this should ever occur in the winter, she could lay siege to Quebec, without the possibility of our transporting troops to its relief. By cutting off our postal communications through her own territory, she would leave us to the only resort of an overland route through Nova Scotia and New Brunswick to Quebec, at a time of the year when the roads are impassable, for the Gulph of the St. Lawrence is then closed by ice, and its navigation, even in the spring and autumn, is considered so dangerous, that the rates of insurance on shipping are higher than those on vessels to any other part of the world.

We may be told that Quebec is impregnable; but scientific advancement in the art of warfare has demonstrated that the strongest fortifications cannot withstand a continued and determined siege. With the loss of Quebec, England's vast American possessions are gone for ever, and the British empire is shorn of more than one-half of her fair proportions. A little war with the United States would cost more than

the construction of this railway ten times over; and from the immense military advantages that the formation of it would secure to England, all probability of war would in future be lessened, if not destroyed.

The present position of Canada is calculated to invite aggression;—nay, so utterly are we at the mercy of the United States, through the want of this communication, that Canada may be truly said not to be worth fourteen days' purchase in the event of a war breaking out with that country in the winter season; but if this railway were made, troops could be transported at any season of the year from Galway to Halifax in five or six days. After landing there, they could be conveyed over this railway to Quebec, without the possibility of interruption, in twenty-four hours more.

And it is also at times equally as important that we should be able to bring troops and stores from Canada at all seasons. And this occurred during the late Russian war. We had an immense store of war material in the citadel of Quebec, and an army in Canada, which we wished to bring down to the seaboard and send out to the Crimea, in the middle of winter; but it was impossible to accomplish it; for the law officers of the Crown being consulted, they declared it would be a violation of the neutrality laws to send them through the United States.

This railway would therefore be to Great Britain a means whereby she could bring her strength to bear in any contest with her growing neighbour; and it is the *one* great medium alone by which she can on that side of the Atlantic counter-balance the preponderating power of the United States. We cannot shut our eyes to the fact, that the territory of the United States, vast as it is, is becoming too circumscribed for her enterprising citizens; for they have gone so far south, until there has ceased to be a public domain; and it is scarcely reasonable to suppose that their desire for annexation has abated; nay, we have it on the most respectable authority stated, and often repeated, that the people who have adopted the comprehensive motto of—

“No pent-up Utica contracts our powers,—
The whole unbounded continent is ours,”

are looking with eager eyes to that vast virgin domain in the adjoining British territory, the future possessors of which are yet destined to command and govern the whole continent of North America.

It therefore becomes imperative that certain railway com-

munications be established and kept open in British North America, at all times and in all seasons. England, be it borne in mind, possesses *the two most important maritime positions in North America—Nova Scotia on the Atlantic, and Vancouver's Island on the Pacific Ocean*, and these it is absolutely essential for her to retain, if she would maintain her supremacy as "mistress of the seas."

More than twenty years ago, the Imperial Government considered the connection between Quebec and the Atlantic, by way of Halifax, of such immense political importance, that they instructed Lord Durham, whilst Lord High Commissioner of Canada, to turn his attention to the formation of his great intercolonial railway (see Appendix); but his Lordship's sudden return to this country prevented the accomplishment of this most important work, even at that early date of railway enterprise. In 1847, the Imperial and Provincial governments, at an expense of £30,000, caused a survey for the line to be made by royal engineers, Major Robinson and Captain Henderson, whose report thereon was printed and presented to both houses of Parliament, by command of her Majesty, in February, 1849.* That report is of the most favourable description, and has received the highest approval from Earl Grey and other statesmen of great colonial experience. Upon that report, the colonial legislature passed the necessary Acts of Parliament, making a free grant of all the Crown lands for ten miles on each side of the line, estimated at 4,000,000 acres, and an annual grant of £20,000 from each of the three provinces, towards making good the interest of the capital.† *In a public despatch from Earl Grey, dated the 14th day of March, 1851, the Imperial Government proposed to guarantee the amount necessary for its construction, or to advance the money from the British treasury*; but on the provinces wishing to press upon the colonial minister the necessity of the imperial guarantee to other projects besides the great trunk line, a delay was caused, and before any satisfactory terms were settled, a change of government took place, and Lord Derby came into power, when the matter had to be re-discussed with him and Sir John Pakington, and by delegates from the three provinces. The result was, that the guarantee was refused to any portion except the Halifax and Quebec line, as laid down in Major Robinson and Captain Henderson's survey.§ A difference, however, arose, which brought the negotiations to an abrupt termination; and the result was, the great national interests of the colonies and the British

* See Appendix. † See Appendix. ‡ See Appendix. § See Appendix.

empire were allowed to suffer, and the Canadian terminus was carried to the Atlantic, by constructing a railway, with British capital and assistance from the provincial treasury of Canada, through a foreign state to a foreign port.

The question now arises, is it prudent that we should longer delay the completion of this great and national undertaking? and, after the vast amount of blood and treasure which we have expended in founding and maintaining this great colony, is it worth keeping? The country for which a Durham pleaded and a Wolfe died, shall we, after a success more brilliant than was ever contemplated by the most enthusiastic colonial statesmen, cease to care about? Shall we still leave undone this one little link, which would ensure her safety and inestimably enhance her greatness and our own profit?

A union of the whole British North American provinces has long been talked of; but recent events have rendered such union absolutely indispensable to preserve their cohesion. It was a favourite project of his late Royal Highness the Duke of Kent, and Lord Durham advocated it with an ability almost prophetic, and strongly recommended its adoption in his celebrated report on Canada. To the want of such a union Adam Smith attributed the alienation of the provinces which now form the United States. No form of union appears so generally acceptable as a federal one, by which each province will have the control, not only of its own internal affairs, but also all matters affecting the general government of the whole. But without railway communication with one another, it would be a mockery and a delusion; for as they at present stand, it would be much more reasonable to unite Nova Scotia with Ireland than with Canada; for with the former she can communicate at all seasons, but with the latter she can not. The railway, therefore, becomes indispensable; and the provinces of Nova Scotia and New Brunswick are not likely to consent to the union without it.

Major Robinson, at the conclusion of his very able report to the Imperial Government, says—

“And if, for great political objects, it ever became necessary or advisable to unite all the British provinces under one legislative government, then there will be found on this side of the Atlantic one powerful British state, which, supported by the Imperial power of the mother-country, may bid defiance to all the United States of America.

“The means to the end, the first great step to its accomplishment, is the construction of the Halifax and Quebec Railway.”

It is admitted by all the ablest authorities on the subject, that such a time has now arrived. The Governor-General of British North America, in proroguing the Canadian

Legislature, stated that, during the recess, the necessary steps would be taken for communicating with the Imperial Government, and with the Governments of the Lower Provinces, with the object of attaining its accomplishment.

The Legislatures of the three provinces, during the late session of the Provincial Parliaments, passed resolutions for addresses to the Imperial Government for the necessary assistance to secure the construction of the trunk line of railway from Halifax to Quebec.

It is somewhat remarkable that the Halifax and Quebec Railway was the first ever contemplated in British North America; but which still remains uncompleted. This arises, no doubt, from these causes: first, that Lord Durham's recommendations for a general legislative union of the whole North American provinces was not carried out; and secondly, that the provinces always looked upon the undertaking more as an imperial and national work than a colonial one, and the Imperial Government have always acknowledged it to be such; for Canada has, within the last eight years, constructed 2,000 miles of railway westward of Quebec, at an expense of 20 millions sterling; yet we are still in the humiliating situation of being dependent upon the will of the United States for access to or from Canada for six months of the year, solely through the line of railway from Halifax to Quebec not being completed.

It is almost impossible to magnify the importance of this line of railway in a national point of view; for it must be considered not merely as affecting the preservation of British North America, but as being the link in that great chain of communication which is destined shortly to be the great high road from the Eastern to the Western world. In the first place, let us consider the importance of Canada, New Brunswick, and Nova Scotia. They already comprise about 500,000 square miles politically organized; they number a population of from three to four millions of the most industrious and enterprising people on the face of the globe; their rate of increase is such, that by the end of the present century it will equal that of Great Britain. The assessed property, exclusive of the public lands and minerals, amounts to about £150,000,000, or £40 to each man, woman, and child. They own vessels measuring 600,000 tons; their annual imports and exports have increased from a total of 8 millions to 24 millions sterling within the last seven years; the exports from the mother-country are nearly equal to half of the exports to British India; they have only a small public debt, not exceeding 10 millions, and a surplus

revenue. As some test of their integrity and credit, the Government bonds range on the London Stock Exchange at a premium varying from £10 to £17 per cent.

The climate of this immense country is favourable; the rate of mortality is lower than in any other known country. The soil is extremely fertile, and not surpassed by the most favoured counties of England; and as a wheat-producing country, it is fast becoming one of the most important in the world, the growth of wheat having increased 400 per cent. during the last ten years: they produce upwards of 35 millions of bushels annually.

The city of Toronto, with its stately cathedrals and universities, was, in 1793, occupied by one single Indian wigwam; in 1857 its population had risen to 50,000 souls; the rateable value of property in the city being six millions and a half. The city of Hamilton, which was a few years ago a small village, now contains a population of 30,000, the rateable property exceeding four millions. The site upon which the city of Ottawa stands, with its present population of 14,000, was, thirty years ago, sold for eighty pounds.

This exhibits a rate of progress as an agricultural country unparalleled in the history of nations.

The territory is adorned with inexhaustible forests of the finest timber, of which she exports annually from four to five millions sterling. Immense beds of copper are found on the shores of Lakes Huron and Superior. The coal-fields and iron-ore of Nova Scotia and New Brunswick are stated, by competent authorities, to be equal in richness to Wales; and when we consider that they are the only ones on the Atlantic side of the Alleghany Mountains, their value becomes inestimable.

They have, undoubtedly, the most magnificent internal navigation in the world. It is farther from the Gulf of St. Lawrence to the head of Lake Superior than it is to England; yet ships of 300 tons can come from the head of Lake Superior to England; yet the navigation does not stop with Lake Superior, but may be extended to the foot of the Rocky Mountains, 1,000 miles farther, by an outlay not exceeding half the amount that has been expended in improving the navigation of the St. Lawrence.

The river St. Lawrence, which may be said to rise with Lake Superior, flows through Lakes Huron, Erie, and Ontario to the ocean, a distance of 2,200 miles. Those lakes embrace an area of 100,000 square miles; the river and lakes, including Lake Michigan, wash a coast of 5,000 miles. The total annual value of the imports and exports of the

lake basin is estimated at 45 millions sterling; the natural outlet and inlet for which is through British territory, and for six months of the year entirely on the Halifax and Quebec Railway.

The many noble rivers, tributaries of the St. Lawrence, are too numerous to describe in this condensed form; one of them, however,—the Ottawa,—is 780 miles long, as large and as beautiful as the Rhine, and drains a country of 80,000 square miles. Mr. Hogan, in his Prize Essay on Canada, says,—“Looking at the St. Lawrence in connection with the regions named, and of which it is the natural outlet to the ocean, it is impossible not to see that Nature has apportioned its magnitude to the necessities of the vast territories which it waters.”

These colonies possess all the wealth of the fisheries fronting upon a seacoast of 5,000 miles; and it is no exaggeration to state that they are the richest in the world.

This is but a brief summary of the progress and natural advantages of Canada, New Brunswick, and Nova Scotia; but beyond these flourishing colonies, extending westward to the Pacific Ocean, there is an immense region, as large as Europe, belonging to the British Crown. The whole of this territory adapted for settlement, from the boundaries of Canada to the Rocky Mountains, is about to be annexed to Canada, or formed into a separate colony, and is estimated to embrace 250,000 square miles. A great portion of this is prairie land, admirably adapted for agriculture. From the Rocky Mountains to the Pacific Ocean extends the new colony of British Columbia, embracing an area of 250,000 square miles, with an auriferous soil, surpassing even the marvels of Australia and California.

British North America may be summed up in few words. Its natural advantages have left little to desire; it possesses a climate peculiarly adapted for the perpetuation of the Anglo-Saxon race; a vast interior admirably adapted for agriculture; natural internal navigation, unparalleled in the world for magnitude; dense forests of timber, scarcely possible of exhaustion; immense mineral wealth in coal, iron, copper, and gold; a seaboard on the Atlantic and Pacific oceans, with harbours, for capacity and safety, unequalled; immense coal-mines on both the Atlantic and Pacific shores, situate in the direct parallel from the western shores of Europe to the eastern shores of Asia, and on the only direct practicable route for a railway across the continent of America.

As we before stated, the only outlet to the sea for the magnificent internal navigation with this great and prosperous country is by Quebec, and the Atlantic terminus to this immense railway communication (except through the United States) is Quebec; and had she but a free and uninterrupted course to the sea at all seasons, she would enjoy the most favourable and important position of any city in the world. But for six months she becomes closed by ice, and there is but *one* mode of obviating this great difficulty, and that is by the construction of the railway to Halifax.

Now, as Halifax holds the key to the Atlantic seaboard at all seasons, the construction of this railway to Quebec, to connect it with the great lines of the interior, is the first, and by far the most important, step in the accomplishment of the Great Atlantic and Pacific Railway. There is at the present time a trunk line of railway from Quebec to St. Paul's, in the territory of Minesota, a distance of 1,600 miles, being half across the vast continent of America. In fact, nearly one-half of the Great Atlantic and Pacific Railway is made, and the remaining portion can only be carried through British territory. The line is projected to run from the north-west shore of Lake Superior, through the Red River settlement (about to be formed into a new colony), and by the valley of Saskatchewan, which affords great natural facilities for its construction, and passes the Rocky Mountains at a very low altitude, strikes the headwaters of Frazer River, which it follows to the Georgian Gulf, having its terminus within fifty miles of the harbour of Esquimalt, in Vancouver's Island. In the valley of the Saskatchewan the railway will intersect a coal-field 1,000 miles long by 150 miles broad.

It is scarcely necessary to state that the railway would have, at its terminus in the Pacific, what the Halifax and Quebec Railway has in the Atlantic,—one of the finest harbours in the world.

It may seem strange, independent of the importance of the Halifax and Quebec as a great trunk line, that the provinces of Nova Scotia and New Brunswick have not had their share of railways; yet, from their geographical position, the fertility of their soil, and the richness of their forests and minerals, no one would doubt that, had they belonged to the United States, they would, many years ago, have been intersected by railways, their lands settled, and their resources developed. Nova Scotia has constructed sixty miles of the trunk line from Halifax to Truro from her own unaided resources; but until the main trunk line is

completed, will not yield any return. New Brunswick also has constructed a portion of the branch lines, to connect the city of St. John and the state of Maine, but which is equally dependent on the trunk line being completed. Canada, on the other hand, has also, by rendering liberal assistance to the Grand Trunk Railway, secured the construction of that portion of the trunk line from Quebec to Trois Pistoles, 114 miles, but which is equally dependent upon the main link in the Halifax and Quebec being completed; and when that is completed, the Grand Trunk Line of Railway will fast become one of the most important and profitable undertakings in America; but at the present it is a *cul-de-sac*.

The distance from Truro to Trois Pistoles is 461 miles, two-thirds of which is level, or under gradients of twenty feet per mile. There is no tunnelling; there is, in the utmost abundance, every material on the ground to construct a good railroad,—stone, ballast, and timber, coal and iron-stone.

Major Robinson estimated the construction at £7,000 per mile; and to his very able report thereon we particularly wish to direct attention.*

The railway embraces within its area a population of 500,000, and estimating it by analogy with the great Western of Canada, will produce a revenue of more than £500,000 per annum. Independent of its importance as the first step in the trunk line from the Atlantic to the Pacific, it intersects boundless fields of coal and iron-stone,—Halifax at one terminus, with its present imports and exports of three millions, and Quebec at the other, with its ten millions; and as Halifax has the advantage of a lower rate of insurance on shipping, equal at some seasons to eight per cent., and an open port, vessels from England would make three voyages there in place of two to Quebec; and as a barrel of flour can be conveyed through the lakes and over this line to Halifax at a cheaper rate than to New York, an immense traffic would therefore be attracted over this railway, and which, in the event of any interruption with the United States, would become enormous.

* See Appendix.

This railway, therefore, presents all these important features :—

A work of the utmost national, military, and commercial importance :

The pledged support and pecuniary assistance of the Imperial Government. And assuming that they would pay the railway what it would save in the Atlantic Mail service, and conveyance of mails through the United States, would be at least £80,000 per annum :

The grant of £60,000 annually from the three provinces of Canada, New Brunswick, and Nova Scotia :

The free grant of from four to five million acres of land to aid its construction, and the gift of all private lands necessary for the railway and termini :

The finest seaport in the Atlantic for its terminus, and which is nearer to Europe by 400 miles than any other safe open port on the continent of America :

Intersecting immense mineral, agricultural, and commercial resources, and a numerous and enterprising population :

Linking together the three noble provinces of Canada, New Brunswick, and Nova Scotia :

And forming the most important part of the great line of railway which is to stretch from the shores of the Atlantic to the Pacific, and which is destined at no very distant day to become the great high road to China and the East Indies.

Extracts from reports, despatches, Acts of Parliament, addresses, minutes of deputations to the Government, &c. &c., relating to the railway, will be found in the Appendix.

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APPENDIX.

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APPENDIX.

EXTRACT from Lord Durham's Report on Canada, dated 31st January, 1839, presented to Parliament 11th February, 1839:—

"We must remove from the colonies the cause to which the sagacity of Adam Smith traced the alienation of the provinces which now form the United States; we must provide some scope for what he calls 'the importance' of the leading men in the colony, beyond what he forcibly terms the present 'petty prizes of the paltry raffle of colonial faction.' A general legislative union would elevate and gratify the hopes of able and aspiring men; they would no longer look with envy and wonder at the great arena of the bordering federation, but see the means of satisfying every legitimate ambition in the high offices of the judicature and executive government of their own union. Nor would a union of the various provinces be less advantageous in facilitating a co-operation for various common purposes, of which the want is now very seriously felt. There is hardly a department of the business of government which does not require, or would not be better performed, by being carried on under the superintendence of a general government; but when we consider the political and commercial interests that are common to these provinces, it appears difficult to account for their having ever been divided into separate governments, since they have all been portions of the same empire, subject to the same crown, governed by nearly the same laws and constitutional customs, inhabited, with one exception, by the same race, contiguous and immediately adjacent to each other, and bounded along their whole frontier by the territories of the same powerful and rival state. It would appear that every motive that has induced the union of various provinces into a single state exists for the consolidation of these colonies under a common legislature and executive. They have the same common relation to the mother country, the same relation to foreign nations. When one is at war the others are at war; and the hostilities that are caused by an attack on one must seriously compromise the welfare of the rest. Thus the dispute between Great Britain and the State of Maine appears immediately to involve the interests of none of the colonies except New Brunswick or Lower Canada, to one of which the territory claimed by us must belong; but if a war was to commence on this ground, it is most probable that the American Government would select Upper Canada as the most vulnerable, or, at any rate, the easiest point of attack. A dispute respecting the fisheries of Nova Scotia would involve precisely the same consequences. A union for common defence against foreign enemies is the natural bond of connection that holds together the great communities of the world; and between no parts of any kingdom or state is the necessity for such a union more obvious than between the whole of these colonies.

"Their internal relations furnish quite as strong motives for union. The post-office is at the present moment under the management of the same imperial establishment. If, in compliance with the reasonable demands of the colonies, the regulation of a matter so entirely of internal concern, and the revenue derived from it, were placed under the control of the provincial legislature, it would still be advisable that the management of the post-office throughout the whole of British North America should be conducted by one general establish-

ment. In the same way, so great is the influence on the other provinces of the arrangement adopted with respect to the disposal of public lands and colonization in any one, that it is absolutely essential that this department of government should be conducted on one system and by one authority. The necessity of common fiscal regulations is strongly felt by all the colonies; and a custom-house establishment would relieve them from the hinderances to their trade caused by the duties now levied on all commercial intercourse between them. The monetary and banking system of all is subject to the same influence, and ought to be regulated by the same laws. The establishment of a common colonial currency is very generally desired; indeed, I know of no department of government that would not greatly gain, both in economy and efficiency, by being placed under a common management. I should not propose, at first, to alter the existing public establishments of the different provinces, because the necessary changes had better be left to be made by the united government; and the judicial establishments should certainly not be disturbed until the future legislature shall provide for their re-construction on a uniform and permanent footing. But even in the administration of justice, a union would immediately supply a remedy for one of the most serious wants under which all the provinces labour, by facilitating the formation of a general appellate tribunal for all the North American colonies.

"But the interests which are already in common between all these provinces are small in comparison with those which, the consequences of such a union, might, and I think I may say assuredly would, call into existence; and the great discoveries of modern art, which have throughout the world, and nowhere more than in America, entirely altered the character and channels of communication between different countries, will bring all the North American colonies into constant and speedy intercourse with one another. The success of the great experiment of steam navigation across the Atlantic opens a prospect of a speedy communication with Europe, which will materially affect the future state of all these provinces. In a despatch which arrived in Canada after my departure, the Secretary of State informed me of the determination of your Majesty's Government to establish a steam communication between Great Britain and Halifax; and *instructed me to turn my attention to the formation of a road between that port and Quebec.* It would indeed have given me sincere satisfaction, had I remained in the province, to promote, by any means in my power, so highly desirable an object; and the removal of the usual restrictions on my authority as Governor-General having given me the means of effectually acting in concert with the various Provincial Governments, I might have been able to make some progress in the work. But I cannot point out more strikingly the evils of the present want of a general government for these provinces, than by adverting to the difficulty which would practically occur, under the previous and present arrangements of both executive and legislative authorities in the various provinces, in attempting to carry such a plan into effect. For the various colonies have no more means of concerting such common works with each other, than with the neighbouring States of the Union. They stand to one another in the position of foreign states, and of foreign states without diplomatic relations. The Governors may correspond with each other; the legislators may enact laws, carrying the common purposes into effect in their respective jurisdictions; but there is no means by which the various details may speedily and satisfactorily be settled with the concurrence of the different parties. And, in this instance, it must be recollected that the communication and the final settlement would have to be made between, not two, but several of the provinces. The road would run through three of them; and Upper Canada, into which it would not enter, would, in fact, be more interested in the completion of such a work than any even of the provinces through which it would pass. *The colonies, indeed, have no common centre in which the arrangement could be made, except in the Colonial Office at home;* and the details of such a plan would have to be discussed just where the interest of all parties would have the least means of being fairly and fully represented, and where the minute local knowledge necessary for such a matter would be least likely to be found.

"The completion of any satisfactory communication between Halifax and Quebec would in fact produce relations between these provinces that would

render a general union absolutely necessary. *Several surveys have proved that a railway would be perfectly practicable the whole way.* Indeed, in North America, the expense and difficulty of making a railway bears by no means the excessive proportion to those of a common road that it does in Europe. It appears to be a general opinion in the United States, that the severe snows and frosts of that continent very slightly impede, and do not prevent, the travelling on railroads; and if I am rightly informed, the Utica Railroad, in the northern part of the State of New York, is used throughout the winter. If this opinion be correct, the formation of a railroad from Halifax to Quebec would entirely avoid some of the leading characteristics of the Canadas. *Instead of being shut out from all direct intercourse with England during half of the year, they would possess a far more certain and speedy communication throughout the winter than they now possess in summer.* The passage from Ireland to Quebec would be a matter of ten or twelve days, and Halifax would be the great port by which a large portion of the trade and all the conveyance of passengers to the whole of British North America would be carried on. But even supposing these brilliant prospects to be such as we could not reckon on seeing realized, I may assume that it is not intended to make this road without a well-founded belief that it will become an important channel of communication between the upper and lower provinces. In either case, would not the maintenance of such a road, and the mode in which the government is administered in the different provinces, be matters of common interest to all? If the great natural channel of the St. Lawrence gives all the people who dwell in any part of its basin such an interest in the government of the whole as renders it wise to incorporate the two Canadas, the artificial work—which would in fact supersede the lower part of the St. Lawrence, as the outlet of a great part of the Canadian trade, and would make Halifax in a great measure an outpost to Quebec,—would surely in the same way render it advisable that the corporation should be extended to provinces through which such a road would pass.

“With respect to the two smaller colonies of Prince Edward’s Island and Newfoundland, I am of opinion that, not only would most of the reasons which I have given for a union of the others apply to them, but that their smallness makes it absolutely necessary as the only means of securing any proper attention to their interests, and investing them with that consideration the deficiency of which they have so much reason to lament in all the disputes which yearly occur between them and the citizens of the United States, with regard to the encroachments made by the latter on their coasts and fisheries.

“The views on which I found my support of a comprehensive union have long been entertained by many persons in these colonies whose opinion is entitled to the highest consideration. I cannot, however, refrain from mentioning the sanction of such views by one whose authority your Majesty will, I venture to say, receive with the utmost respect,—Mr. Sewell, the late Chief Justice of Quebec, who laid before me an autograph letter addressed to himself by your Majesty’s illustrious and lamented father, in which his Royal Highness was pleased to express his approbation of a similar plan then proposed by that gentleman. No one better understood the interest and character of these colonies than his Royal Highness; and it is with peculiar satisfaction that I submit to your Majesty’s perusal the important document which contains his Royal Highness’s opinion in favour of such a scheme :—

“Kensington Palace, 30th Nov. 1814.

“MY DEAR SEWELL,

“I have this day had the pleasure of receiving your note of yesterday, with its interesting inclosure. Nothing can be better arranged than the whole thing is, or more perfectly I cannot wish; and when I see an opening, it is fully my intention to hint the matter to Lord Bathurst and put the paper into his hands,—without, however, telling him from whom I have it, though I shall urge him to have some conversation with you relative to it. Permit me, however, just to ask you whether it was not an oversight in you to state that there are five Houses of Assembly in the British Colonies in North America?—for, if I am not under an error, there are six, viz. Upper and Lower Canada, Nova Scotia, and New Brunswick, the islands of Prince Edward, and Cape Breton. Allow

me also to beg of you to put down the proportions in which you think the thirty members of the representative assembly ought to be furnished by each province; and finally, to suggest whether you would not think two Lieutenant-Governors, with two executive councils, sufficient for the executive government of the whole, *viz.* one for the two Canadas and one for Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, comprehending the small dependencies of Cape Breton and Prince Edward's Island, the former to reside at Montreal, and the latter at whichever of the two situations may be considered most central for the two provinces, whether Annapolis Royal or Windsor. But at all events, should you even consider four executive governments and four executive councils requisite, I presume there cannot be a question of the expediency of comprehending the two small islands in the Gulf of St. Lawrence with Nova Scotia.

"Believe me ever to remain, with the most friendly regard,

"My dear Sewell, yours faithfully,

"(Signed) EDWARD."

Extract from the Speech of the Earl of Lincoln, in the House of Commons, July, 1848:—

"It must be within the knowledge of the honourable Secretary for the Colonies, and, notwithstanding the pressure of other affairs, within that of the noble lord at the head of the Government, that a project has existed for some time for constructing a railroad from Halifax to Quebec.

"That road commences at Halifax, passes through the centre of the province of Nova Scotia and New Brunswick. There is this broad distinction between New Brunswick and Canada:—there exists in the former a tract of 10,000,000 acres of fertile land in the possession of the Government; this road passes through that land, intersects a portion of Lower Canada to a point in the St. Lawrence (River du Loup), and thence to Quebec.

"I hope I am not departing from my object in alluding to this line of road, but it bears materially on the question.

"It appears to me that this railroad may not only be made of great importance to the colonies, but an object of great national interest, both in a *military, a commercial, and every other point of view*. As to the commercial consideration, everybody is aware how circuitous is the navigation from England to Quebec by the St. Lawrence, and it is also a most dangerous one. On the coast and in the vicinity of Cape Breton there are constant shipwrecks, and anything that rendered the route safe, would benefit the commercial interests both of this country and the colonies. In that country a railroad may be formed at little cost; the land may be had for nothing, and at any rate the sleepers for the line can be got for taking down, and the cuttings can be made at a cheap rate.

"If it should be in the contemplation of Government, after an investigation of this scheme, to sanction it, I cannot help thinking an early decision, by which the proceedings of the railway may be facilitated, should be given."

Extract from the Speech of Earl Grey, in Parliament, July, 1848:—

"He (Lord Grey) confessed he had great anxiety to see the railroad system carried to the greatest extent in America. There was one projected undertaking of that kind which he thought of the greatest national importance; it was projected to run from Quebec to Halifax. He could not conceive anything more important than the establishment of a communication by which they might have access from Canada to one of the nearest colonial ports to this country in all seasons of the year, and at the same time of course equally of easy access from Halifax to Canada. This he believed to be an object of the highest national importance. In the construction of such a railroad, there was no doubt a great extent of land which might be made available, but which was at the present time to a great

extent inaccessible; his conviction was that that railroad might be effected at a cost which would be covered by the increased value which it would confer in the land through which it ran.

"No man was more anxious than himself that that work should go forward. His noble friend the Governor-General of Canada (Lord Elgin), was equally impressed with the same opinion that it was a work most desirable to be accomplished."

Extract from Despatch of Earl Grey to the Earl of Elgin and Kincardine, Governor-General of British North America:—

"Downing Street, Nov. 17, 1848.

"MY LORD,

"The commissioners appointed by Her Majesty's Government to explore and survey the line of country affording the greatest advantages for the formation of a railway from Halifax through New Brunswick to Quebec, having completed the duties with which they were charged, I have now the honour to transmit to your lordship the final report of Major Robinson.

"I have perused this able document with the interest and attention it so well merits, and I have to convey to you the assurance of her Majesty's Government that we fully appreciate the importance of the proposed undertaking, and entertain no doubt of the great advantages which would result, not only to the provinces interested in the work, but to the empire at large, from the construction of such a railway."

Extracts from Major Robinson's Report to the Imperial Government on the Survey of the Line of Railway from Halifax to Quebec, dated 31st August, 1848:—

"The state of Massachusetts affords the best materials for accurate information as to the cost of railways in the United States.

"The average cost per mile of 830 miles has been £7,950 sterling.

"The climate and nature of the country bears a strong resemblance to that through which the Halifax and Quebec Line will pass, and in this respect the analogy of the two cases is extremely favourable.

"On some of the lines upwards of £15 per ton for rails have been paid. In England rails can now be bought at £8 or £9 a ton.

"The advantage which Halifax and Quebec will possess over the lines in Massachusetts in respect of iron alone, may be calculated at £500 per mile.

"When these lines were constructed, also, the demand for labour was extremely great, and wages much higher than in the present day.

"The Halifax and Quebec Line will have also many advantages which the American lines have not.

"The land for the greater portion will not have to be purchased; timber and stone will be had nearly along the whole line for cutting and quarrying.

"Halifax may be considered the nearest great seaport to England.

"The mails, troops, munitions of war, commissariat supplies, and all public stores, would naturally pass by it, as the safest, speediest, and cheapest means of conveyance.

"If a straight line be drawn from Cape Clear, in Ireland, to New York, it will cut through a pass close to Halifax: the latter, therefore, is the direct route; and as the sea-voyage across the Atlantic to New York may be shortened by three days nearly in steamers, it is not improbable that, on that account, when the branch railroad to St. John's is completed, and other lines to connect it with the United States, the whole or greater portion of the passenger traffic between the Old and New World would pass through Halifax, and over a great section of the proposed railway.

"But the great object for the railway to attain, and which, if it should be able

to accomplish, its capability to pay the interest on the capital expended would be undoubted, is to supersede the long and dangerous passage to Quebec by the Gulf of St. Lawrence.

"To make two voyages in a year, vessels are obliged to leave England earlier, and encounter the dangers of the ice in the gulf, much sooner than it is safe and prudent for them to do. The loss of life and property which has occurred from this cause has been enormous. It cannot be ascertained, but probably it would have more than paid for the railway.

"An opinion, however, may be formed of it from the rates of insurance, which in the spring and autumn are as high as 10 per cent.—a much higher rate than to any other part of the world. For six months of the year, then, the St. Lawrence would cease to be a competitor with the railway, and large quantities of produce would be certain to be forwarded by it. For the other six months of the year it would have also the following strong claims to preference: rapidity of transport, the saving of heavy insurance, and cheaper rate of freight from Halifax. Vessels engaged in the Canadian trade would make three voyages to Halifax for two to Quebec.

The trade which is now crowded into six months, to the great inconvenience of every one concerned, rendering large stocks necessary to be kept in hand, would be diffused equally over the whole year. It is most probable that these advantages will be found so great that only the bulky and weighty articles of commerce, such as the very heavy timber and a few other goods, will continue to be sent round by the Gulf of St. Lawrence.

"The enterprise is of general interest, it concerns the prosperity and welfare of the three provinces, and the honour as well as the interests of the whole British empire may be affected by it. It is the one great means by which alone the power of the mother country can be brought to bear on this side of the Atlantic, and restore the balance of power, fast turning to the side of the United States. Every new line of railway adds to their power, enabling them to concentrate their forces almost wherever they please; and by the lines, of which there are already some, and there will soon be more, reaching to their northern frontier, they can choose at their own time any point of attack on their long extending Canadian frontier, and direct their whole strength against it. The provinces, therefore, and the empire, having such interest in the formation of the Halifax and Quebec Line, it should be undertaken by them in common as a great public work for the public weal.

"The ordinary price for an acre of wild, uncleared land is about 2s. 6d. to 3s. per acre; but where public roads are made through them, the value immediately increases, and it will not be considered an extravagant estimate to suppose that the land along it or in the immediate vicinity of the railway will be worth £1 per acre.

"But to look at this great work only as a commercial speculation and yielding merely interest for the expenditure incurred, would be to take a very limited view of the objects it is capable of claiming.

"In the United States they are well aware of the increased value which internal improvements and communications give to property of every kind.

"In those countries, works have been undertaken for that object alone, not for the mere return which the work, whether railway, road, or canal, would make of itself. The indebtedness of the several states has been incurred almost entirely in making great internal improvements; and in the boldness and unhesitating way in which they have incurred debts and responsibilities for the purpose of developing their resources may be seen the secret of their unrivalled prosperity.

"The state is in debt, but its inhabitants have been enriched beyond all proportion. Most unfavourable comparisons are made by travellers who visit the British provinces and the United States; and some have gone as far as to state, that travelling along where the boundary is a mere conventional line, they could at once tell whether they were in the States or not.

"The creative or productive power of canals, railways, &c., may be traced in the history and progress of New York. The Erie Canal was commenced in 1817, and completed in 1825, and cost £1,400,000 sterling. The canal was found so inadequate to the traffic, that, between the years 1825 and 1835, a

further sum of £2,700,000 was expended in enlarging it. And on the 1st of July 1836, there had accumulated in the hands of the commissioners an amount sufficient to extinguish the whole of the standing debt incurred in its construction.

"For the States of New York :—

"In 1817, the official value of real and personal property was £63,368,000

"In 1835, the official value of real and personal property was £110,120,000,

or, an increase of nearly £47,000,000 sterling in the value of property, attributed chiefly, if not entirely, to the formation of the canals.

"It is not too much to say, that between the Bay of Fundy and the St. Lawrence, in the country to be traversed by the proposed railway, there is abundant room for all the surplus population of the mother country.

"Of the climate, soil, and capabilities of New Brunswick, it is impossible to speak too highly. There is no country so beautifully wooded and watered. An inspection of the map will show that there is scarcely a section of it without its streams, from the running brook up to the navigable river; two-thirds of its boundary are washed by the sea, the remainder is embraced by the large rivers, the St. John and the Restigouche. For beauty and richness of scenery, this, latter river and its branches are not surpassed by anything in Great Britain. Its lakes are numerous and most beautiful, its surface is undulating, hill and dale varying to mountain and valley. It is everywhere, except a few peaks of the highest mountains, covered with a dense forest of the finest growth. The country can everywhere be penetrated by its streams; in some parts of the interior, for a postage of three or four miles, a canoe can float away either to the Bay of Chaleurs and the Gulf of St. Lawrence, or down to St. John's, in the Bay of Fundy. The labours of the season over or suspended upon the railway, they could most advantageously employ themselves in clearing, logging, and improving their own lots.

"Another great effect of the railway would be to enhance almost immediately the value of all real and personal property. Villages and towns would no doubt spring up in its course, the same as in the Erie Canal. The railway would give them birth, agriculture and external commerce would support and enrich them. But if by its means the navigation of the Gulf of St. Lawrence is spared, what an amount of human suffering and loss of life will it not save!

"Embarking and disembarking at Halifax, all danger and inconvenience from the Gulf navigation would be avoided, time and expense would be saved, and the season might be disregarded. Troops are annually moved to and from Canada; about the close of the navigation in 1843, a transport having the 1st royal regiment on board, was wrecked in the mouth of the St. Lawrence. The men got safely on shore, but there were no roads or means of getting away from the place. By the personal exertions of one of the officers, who made his way through the woods in sun-shoes to the nearest settlement, and thence to Quebec, information was given of the wreck, and a steamer sent down to take them off; but for this, the consequence must have been that the regiment would have had to winter there in the best manner they could.

"The mails to and from Canada would pass over British territories exclusively, and they would be received at Quebec before the steamer reached Boston, and at Montreal, about the same time as its arrival at that port.

"Its agricultural capabilities and its climate are described in Bouchette's works, in Martin's 'British Colonies,' and other authors. The country is by them, and most deservedly, so highly praised, that, for any great plan of emigration or colonization, there is not another so well formed for the trial as New Brunswick.

"To 17,000,000 productive acres there are only 208,000 inhabitants.

"Of these, 11,000,000 acres are still public property. On the surface is an abundant stock of the finest timber, which in the markets of England realizes large sums annually, and affords an unlimited supply of fuel to the settlers. If this should ever become exhausted, there are the coals underneath.

"The lakes and sea-coasts abound with fish; along the Bay of Chaleurs it is so abundant that the land smells of it; it is used as manure, and while the olfactory nerves of the traveller are offended by it on the land, he sees out at sea immense shoals, darkening the surface of the water.

"For about the same expense, five emigrants could be landed in New Brunswick for one in the Antipodes.

"The present limited population being so generally engaged in the timber trade and the fisheries, there is the richest opening for agriculturists.

"New Brunswick annually pays to the United States upwards of £200,000 for provisions and other articles, which she can raise upon her own soil.

"Nova Scotia does nearly the same thing.

"There exists, therefore, a good market already on the spot for agricultural produce, and it would be a strange anomaly indeed if a country, situated within three or four weeks' sail of the markets of England, could not compete with the growers of produce in the valley of the Mississippi, and the countries round the great lakes in the far west.

"In a political and military point of view, the proposed railway must be regarded as becoming a work of necessity.

"The increasing population and wealth of the United States, and the diffusion of railways over their territory, especially in the direction of the Canadian frontier, renders it absolutely necessary to counterbalance, by some corresponding means, their otherwise preponderating power.

"Their railway communication will enable them to select their own time, and their own point of attack, and will entail upon the British the necessity of being prepared at all points to meet them.

"It is most essential, therefore, that the mother country should be able to keep up the communication with the Canadas at all times and all seasons. However powerful England may be at sea, no navy could save Canada from a land force.

"Its conquest and annexation are freely spoken of in the United States, even on the floors of Congress.

"Weakness invites aggression, and as the railway would be a lever of power, by which Great Britain could bring her strength to bear in the contest, it is not improbable that its construction would be the means of preventing a war at some no distant period.

"The expense of one year's war would pay for a railway two or three times over. And if, for great political objects, it ever became necessary or advisable to unite all the British provinces under one Legislative Government, then there will be found, on this side of the Atlantic, one powerful British state, which, supported by the imperial power of the mother country, may bid defiance to all the United States of America. The means to the end, the first great step to its accomplishment, is the construction of the Halifax and Quebec Railway."

Extract from Captain Henderson's Report to the Imperial Government, accompanying Major Robinson's Report:—

"Table of gradients on the whole line from Halifax to Quebec:—

"Level, and under 20 feet per mile	439 miles.
20 to 40	150 "
40 to 50	23 "
50 to 60	10 "
60 to 70	4 "
	635"

Extract from the Report of Major Robinson, dated
March 30th, 1849 :—

"I have the greatest hope and belief that a very large portion of the traffic from the United Kingdom to Quebec will pass to that railway, and that it will command nearly the whole passenger traffic, not only to Canada, but also, in course of time, a very large portion of that between Europe and the continent of North America.

"The punctuality and shortness of the voyages made by the Cunard steamers from Liverpool to Halifax, as compared with all others running between England and the United States, will, I conceive, insure this result.

"What the Erie Canal has accomplished for the State of New York, this may possibly do for the British provinces.

"In the former case, it has doubled the population of this state, increased by 1,231,683 souls, and added about £50,000,000 sterling to the value of real and personal property.

"It will not be too much, I think, to estimate that within the same period one-third of that number, or about 400,000 settlers might by the means of the works afforded by the construction of the railway and the opening out of such a wide field for agriculture, be added to the population of the three provinces.

"The balance of trade paid by the British North American colonies to the United States for four years, from 1844 to 1847 inclusive, was £4,248,835.

"New Brunswick and Nova Scotia have paid the largest portion of this to supply their lumbermen and fishermen with provisions; but what proportion is due to Canada I am unable to ascertain.

"The latter is an exporting country for provisions, and could well supply the two sister provinces.

"I cannot conceive, either, in the list of exported articles of their domestic produce, that there is any one but which could, if it met with due encouragement, be produced in some portion or other of the British North American possessions.

"The railway is the one thing needful to afford the means of distributing the produce from one province to another.

"From the foregoing, I think it may be said that the British colonies of North America pay for their want of enterprise and neglect in developing their internal communications and resources an annual fine of £1,000,000 sterling to the United States of America."

Extract from a Despatch from the Earl of Elgin to Earl
Grey, dated 20th of December, 1848 :—

"As regards the probability of the work proving ultimately remunerative, I cannot but express my belief, that under the arrangement suggested by the Canadian Government its cost to the British Government will be found to fall within Major Robinson's estimate. He has based his calculations, it would appear, on the expense of railways constructed in the state of Massachusetts, where large prices are frequently paid for land, and where the cost of the principal materials employed is enhanced by the operation of a highly protective tariff. As the land to be occupied by the line will cost the Government nothing, and as a considerable sum may be realized by the alienation of that portion of the public domain which will be placed at its disposal, a large deduction may, it is to be hoped, be made for these estimates, whilst the almost invariable productiveness of the railways in America, which are frequently pushed, in the face of great engineering difficulties, into districts whose present resources and population would not appear to justify the outlay, or warrant the expectation of a return on the capital expended.

"I have chiefly insisted on the advantages which the mother country is likely to derive from the execution of this work, believing that the benefits which it will confer on the colonies are too manifest to require elucidation. I would, however, venture to offer an observation on this head. It is obvious that as soon as railway communication is extended throughout the provinces, a smaller

military force than is now requisite will suffice for their protection. But looking to the anxiety which your lordship has repeatedly expressed, that a diminution in the expenditure incurred by Great Britain on this account should be effected at the earliest period, I am prepared to go a step further in this direction, so confident am I that the mere undertaking of the work in question will tend to raise the colonists from the despondency into which recent changes in the commercial policy of the empire have plunged them; to unite the provinces to one another, and to the mother country; to inspire them with the consciousness of their own strength, and of the value of the connection with Great Britain, which is their best security against aggression; that I would not hesitate to recommend that an immediate and considerable reduction should take place in the force stationed in Canada in the event of the execution of the Quebec and Halifax Railway being determined on."

Extracts from Minutes of Legislative Council of New Brunswick, January 6th, 1849:—

"The Council having considered these documents with great attention and satisfaction, fully concur with the opinion expressed by Major Robinson in his very able Report, that, while the projected railway will be of great advantage to provincial interests, it is at the same time a work of imperative necessity, in a national point of view, for the preservation and integrity of this portion of her Majesty's dominions. Were the available resources of the province equal to our desires for the permanency of our connection with the empire and the stability of British institutions in this continent, we would at once take upon ourselves our proportion of this good work, asking aid from no quarter. No question of greater importance to British colonial interests could be presented for the consideration of the Government; upon it hangs the destiny of these provinces as portions of the empire; in its favourable termination we view the only guarantee of colonial unity and British supremacy in British North America," &c.

On the 30th May, 1849, the Legislature of Canada passed an Act of Parliament containing the following clause:—

"And whereas the proposed railway between Halifax and Quebec will be a great national work, bringing together the several portions of the British Empire on the continent of North America, and facilitating the adoption of an extensive, wholesome, and effective system of emigration and colonization; and it is right that Canada should render such assistance as her means will admit towards the accomplishment of a work so important, and promising results so beneficial. Be it therefore enacted, that if her Majesty's Government shall undertake the construction of the said railway, either directly or through the instrumentality of a private company, it shall be lawful for the Governor in Council, on behalf of this province, to undertake to pay yearly, in proportion as the work advances, a sum not exceeding £20,000 sterling, towards making good the deficiency (if any) in the income from the railway, to meet the interest of the sum expended upon it, and to place at the disposal of the Imperial Government all the ungranted lands within the province lying in the line of railway, to the extent of ten miles on each side thereof; and to undertake to obtain, pay for, and place at the disposal of the Imperial Government all the land required within the province for the line of railway, and for proper stations and termini."

Sir John Harvey, Lieut.-Governor of Nova Scotia, in a despatch to Earl Grey, dated 6th April, 1849, sent the following address from the Legislative Council, for presentation to the Queen:—

"MAY IT PLEASE YOUR MAJESTY,

"We, your Majesty's faithful and loyal subjects, the Legislative Council of Nova Scotia, approach your Majesty with warm attachment to your

Majesty's person and Government, to express our grateful feeling to your Majesty for having submitted the surveys and plans of the contemplated railroad from Quebec to Halifax for the deliberate consideration of the Legislative Council.

"The able report of your Majesty's engineers employed in this survey confirms the views entertained by the Legislative Council, that the accomplishment of this undertaking will develop the resources of your Majesty's noble possessions on this continent, create new elements of prosperity, promote internal improvement, and become a national and indissoluble bond of union with the parent state.

"Impressed with these sentiments, the legislature of this province has passed a law granting, free of expense, a right of way for the railroad, together with all public lands for ten miles of either side thereof; and charging upon the provincial and local revenues of Nova Scotia an annual contribution of £20,000 sterling towards the payment of the interest of the sum required to be expended upon the construction of the work, of which sum a fifth part has been voluntarily tendered by the citizens of Halifax, and the whole will be annually paid to such commissioners as your Majesty may be pleased to appoint after the completion, or satisfactory security for the completion, of such railway, until the traffic thereon shall be sufficient to relieve the provincial government from further contribution.

"Your Majesty's subjects, in this part of your empire, have made preparations to erect an electric telegraph across Nova Scotia, to unite with the lines already established from Metis to Quebec, and Saint John, New Brunswick, to Boston, and thus information will be transmitted in the most rapid manner to the interior of Canada and the United States; and the speedy construction of this projected railway will turn the passenger travelling in the same direction as the most speedy and safe route to the heart of America.

"The projected railway will furnish a safe military road through the centre of British America, open a boundless tract of fertile soil for colonization, facilitate the transport of your Majesty's mails and troops, and will create a new intercourse with Western America through the lakes of the Saint Lawrence to Halifax, a feat surpassed by none on the continent of America.

"May it please your Majesty to give to the subject of this address your gracious consideration, and extend your royal favour to the construction of this national highway through your Majesty's splendid provinces, knitting them together by the strongest ties, and uniting them to the parent state by the bonds of loyalty, affection, and interest.

(Signed)

"MICH. TOBIN, President."

The House of Representatives sent a similar address to the above.

Sir Edmund Head, Bart., Lieutenant-Governor of New Brunswick, in a despatch to Earl Grey, dated March 31st, 1849, says:—

"MY LORD,

"I have the honour to enclose a copy of a joint address to her Majesty on the subject of railways, adopted by the Legislative Council and the House of Assembly of this province, together with copies of two reports on the same subject, made by the committees of the Legislative Council and Assembly respectively.

"I propose to address your lordship at some length on the matter of the address and the reports, because I think the terms in which the latter are couched are liable to be misunderstood, and because the importance of the subject itself, in relation to the future progress of this colony and to its capability for immigration, requires at my hands some explanation.

"The language of the reports of the committees may appear to be somewhat strong, but I think I can conscientiously assure you that the persons comprising the committees are deeply attached to her Majesty's Government, and if they have erred in the manner of expressing what they meant, it has been from their anxiety on the subject to which the reports relate, &c., &c.

The address to her Majesty is as follows :—

“ MAY IT PLEASE YOUR MAJESTY,

“ We, the Legislative Council and Assembly of your Majesty’s Province of New Brunswick, beg leave to approach your Majesty with renewed assurance of our attachment and fidelity to your Majesty’s person and Government.

“ In common with all your Majesty’s subjects in these North American Colonies, we are deeply impressed with the paramount importance of the contemplated line of railway from Halifax to Quebec for the consolidation of these portions of your Majesty’s dominions, and for the preservation of British interests on this continent.

“ Strongly attached to our country and its institutions, we beg leave to submit to your Majesty our humble offering in aid of this great national undertaking.

“ Anticipating that the railway will be constructed by the aid of the Imperial Government, we offer, in consideration thereof, to secure to your Majesty all the ungranted lands through which the road may pass to the extent of ten miles on each side, to be disposed of in such manner as may be deemed most advisable by your Majesty’s Government. And also to secure, at the expense of the province, a sufficient breadth of way and the necessary stations over and upon private property for the use of the said road.

“ And we further pledge ourselves that we will charge upon the general revenues of the province a sum not exceeding £20,000 currency per annum, towards paying the interest upon the capital invested in the said road, to be paid yearly from and after the completion of the said road, and while the same is kept in operation, and to be continued for a term not exceeding twenty years.

“ We would respectfully impress upon your Majesty’s consideration that the quality of the land pledged by us, and its easy access from the United Kingdom, present it as one of the most eligible fields for emigration in any of your Majesty’s dominions.

“ Whenever we shall be advised of the favourable determination of your Majesty’s Government in this matter, we will immediately pass such legislative enactments as may be necessary to carry into effect the pledges made in this our humble and dutiful address.

(Signed)

“ WILLIAM BLACK, P. L. C.

“ J. W. WELLTON, Speaker, House of Assembly.”

The following are extracts from the Report of the Select Committee of the Legislative Assembly, referred to in Sir E. Head’s despatch :—

“ Viewing the relative positions of the North American Colonies, and the great importance, in a national point of view, of improving the facilities for mutual intercourse, we consider it a matter of the greatest moment for the permanency of British interests in this continent, that a railway should be laid down to connect the lower provinces with the interior of Canada.

“ We believe that no other measure can be devised which will so certainly consolidate the colonies, and perpetuate our connection with Great Britain; while without it, we fear that our position as colonies will be of short duration.

“ We think the plain broad question on this subject is—do the people of England wish to retain the North American colonies, or not? If they do, the Trunk Railway is indispensable, and should be completed at any cost.”

Sir John Harvey, Lieut.-Governor of Nova Scotia, in a despatch to Earl Grey, dated the 2nd May, 1850, says :—

" MY LORD,

" I have the honour to enclose, for your lordship's consideration, a resolution adopted by the Legislative Council of this province on the subject of the projected railway from Halifax to Quebec.

" The people of this province are very anxious that this great public work should be immediately commenced : and I beg to draw your lordship's attention to the law passed on the 31st of March, 1849, enacting that it should be lawful for her Majesty to cause five commissioners to be appointed for establishing and constructing such railroad from Halifax to the boundary line of New Brunswick to meet a railroad from Lower Canada through New Brunswick, and also giving power to the Governor, by and with the advice of the Executive Council, to vest in her Majesty ten miles of the Crown lands on each side of the line for the benefit of the railroad, and to raise funds for the construction thereof. And lastly, that the railroad should be under such rules and regulations as shall be established by her Majesty's Government.

" A pledge has likewise been given for the sum of £20,000 sterling, to pay the interest on the capital to be expended for the accomplishment of this work.

" The opinion is very strongly entertained here, my lord, that the construction of this railroad would be one of the most effectual means of defending these possessions of her Majesty, and would assist in preserving the connection with each other and the mother-country, and would develop the *resources*, and invigorate trade and commerce, and promote the permanent prosperity and happiness of her Majesty's subjects in these portions of the realm.

(Signed) " J. HARVEY."

The resolution above referred to is as follows :—

" *Legislative Council Chamber, 26th March, 1850.*

" Resolved, that an address be presented to his Excellency the Lieutenant-Governor, requesting him to call the attention of her Majesty's Government to the subject of the proposed railroad from Halifax to Quebec, and to urge the great importance of that undertaking to the welfare and prosperity of the province, and to use all the constitutional means in his power to expedite its commencement.

(Signed) " JOHN C. HALLIBURTON, C.L.C."

On the 25th April, 1850, the House of Assembly of New Brunswick again addressed her Majesty, from which the following are extracts :—

" Although we have on a former occasion brought this subject to your Majesty's notice, yet on such a momentous question, involving, as we sincerely believe it does, the stability and permanency of British interests on this continent, it is our duty to be importunate, and not let the subject rest while there remains any prospect of its success.

" We have already afforded the best possible proof of our own sincerity, by pledging ourselves to grant a sum of £20,000 a year for twenty years, together with at least 2,000,000 of acres of superior land available for settlement and colonization.

" Believing your Majesty's Government sincere in the declaration that these colonies will be retained at all hazards, and that they are viewed as part of the strength of the empire, it is surely a question worthy of the best consideration of your Majesty's Government, What can be done for the North American Colonies, to prevent their declension, to give them strength and consistency, and thereby retain confidence in the Imperial Government ? "

" To this important question we are prepared to answer, that no other measure will so certainly produce the desired effects as the railway from Halifax to Quebec.

" The sum of £60,000 being already guaranteed by Canada, Nova Scotia,

and this province, we are led to hope that if your Majesty's Government would procure from the Imperial Parliament a grant of £1,000,000 sterling in aid of the undertaking, the work would be shortly commenced and successfully prosecuted, &c. &c.

(Signed) " J. W. WELDON, Speaker of Assembly."

Extract from a Letter of the Honourable Joseph Howe to Earl Grey, dated 25th November, 1850:—

" This route would, therefore, save, in the communication between Europe and America, fifty-six hours to every individual in all times to come who passed between the two continents, the sea risks to life and property being diminished by one-third of the whole. . . .

" The British Government now pay for the conveyance of the North American mails between England and New York £145,000 sterling per annum. By this arrangement 1,107 miles of sea are traversed more than are necessary. The correspondence of all Europe with all America is delayed fifty-six hours beyond the time which will be actually required for its conveyance when the railroads across Ireland and Nova Scotia are completed.

" One set of these British mail steamers pass by our provinces, and to the mortification of their inhabitants, carry their letters, and even the public despatches of their Government, to the United States, to be sent back some 800 miles, if they came by land; at least 500 if sent by sea.

" While the nearest land to Europe is British territory,—while a harbour, almost matchless for security and capacity, invites Englishmen to build up within the empire a fitting rival to the great commercial cities which are rising beyond it, your Lordship will readily comprehend the depth and earnestness of our impatience to be rescued from a position which wounds our pride as British subjects, and is calculated rapidly to generate the belief, that the commanding position of our country is either not understood, or our interests but lightly valued.

" A very common idea prevails in this country that nearly the whole continent of North America was lost to England at the time of the revolution, and that only a few insignificant and almost worthless provinces remain. This is a great, and if the error extensively prevails, may be a fatal mistake. Great Britain, your lordship is well aware, owns up to this moment one-half the continent; and, taking the example of Europe to guide us, I believe the best half. Not the best for slavery, or for growing cotton and tobacco, but the best for raising men and women, the most congenial to the northern European, the most provocative of steady industry, and, all things else being equal, the most impregnable and secure. . . .

" The balance of power in Europe is watched with intense interest by British statesmen. The slightest movement, or the smallest state, that is calculated to cause vibration, animates the Foreign Office, and adds to its perplexities and labours. But is not the balance of power in America worth retaining? Suppose it lost, how would it affect that of Europe!"

On the 10th March, 1851, the following letter was addressed to the Hon. Joseph Howe, who had been selected by the Government of Nova Scotia to impress the importance of the Halifax and Quebec Railway upon the Imperial Government:—

" Downing-street, March 10th, 1851.

" Sir,

" I am directed by Earl Grey to inform you that he is at length enabled to communicate to you the decision of her Majesty's Government on

the application for assistance towards the construction of the projected railway through Nova Scotia, contained in your letters of the 25th of November and the 16th of January last.

"You are already aware, from the repeated conversations which you have had with Lord Grey, of the strong sense entertained by his lordship and his colleagues, of the extreme importance, not only to the colonies directly interested, but to the empire at large, of providing for the construction of a railway by which a line of communication may be established on the British territory between the provinces of Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, and Canada, and that various plans which have been suggested for the accomplishment of this object have undergone the most attentive consideration.

"It appears from Sir John Harvey's despatch of August 29th, 1850, as well as from your letters and the verbal communications you have made to Lord Grey, that the Provincial Government of Nova Scotia, fully relying on the concurrence of the Legislature, is desirous of undertaking the construction of that part of the projected line which would pass through that province, and proposes to obtain for that purpose a loan of £800,000, which is the estimated expense of the work. The assistance which Lord Grey understands you to apply for, in behalf of the province, is that the payment of the interest of a loan to this amount should be guaranteed by the Imperial Parliament, the effect of which would be that the money might be raised on terms much more favourable than would be otherwise required by the lenders.

"I am directed to inform you that her Majesty's Government are prepared to recommend to Parliament that this guarantee should be granted, or that the money required should be advanced from the British Treasury on the conditions which I will now proceed to state.

"In the first place, as her Majesty's Government are of opinion that they would not be justified in asking Parliament to allow the credit of this country to be pledged for any object not of great importance to the British Empire as a whole (and they do not consider that the projected railway would answer this description, unless it should establish a line of communication between the three British Provinces), it must be distinctly understood that the work is not to be commenced, nor is any part of the loan, for the interest of which the British Treasury is to be responsible, to be raised, until arrangements are made with the provinces of Canada and New Brunswick, by which the construction of a line of railway passing wholly through British territory, from Halifax or Quebec or Montreal, shall be provided for to the satisfaction of her Majesty's Government.

"In order that such arrangements may be made, her Majesty's Government will undertake to recommend to Parliament that the like assistance shall be rendered to those provinces as to Nova Scotia, in obtaining loans for the construction of their respective portions of the work. If it should appear that by leaving it to each province to make that part of the line passing through its own territory, the proportion of the whole cost of the work which would fall upon any one province would exceed its proportion of the advantage to be gained by it, then the question is to remain open for future consideration, whether some contribution should not be made by the other provinces towards that part of the line: but it is to be clearly understood that the whole cost of the line is to be provided for by loans raised by the provinces in such proportions as may be agreed upon with the guarantee of the Imperial Parliament.

"The manner in which the profits to be derived from the railway, when completed, are to be divided between the provinces, will also remain for future consideration.

"You will observe, that I have stated that the line is to pass entirely through British territory; but her Majesty's Government do not require that the line should necessarily be that recommended by Major Robinson and Captain Henderson. If the opinion which is maintained by many persons well qualified to form a judgment is correct, that a shorter and better line may be formed through New Brunswick, it will of course be preferred, and there will be sufficient time for determining this question while the earlier part of the line is in progress.

"It is also to be understood that her Majesty's Government will by no means

object to its forming part of the plan which may be determined upon, that it should include a provision for establishing a communication between the projected railways and the railways of the United States. Any deviation from the line recommended by Major Robinson and Captain Henderson must, however, be subject to the approval of her Majesty's Government.

"It will further be required that the several provincial legislatures should pass laws, making the loans which they are to raise a first charge upon the provincial revenues, after any existing debts and payments on account of the civil lists settled on her Majesty by laws now in force: and also that permanent taxes shall be imposed (or taxes to continue in force till the debt shall be extinguished) sufficient to provide for the payment of the interests and sinking fund of the loans proposed to be raised after discharging the above prior claims. It will further be necessary that the expenditure of the money raised under the guarantee of the Imperial Parliament shall take place under the superintendence of commissioners appointed by her Majesty's Government, and armed with sufficient power to secure the due application of the funds so raised to their intended object. The commissioners so appointed are not, however, to interfere with the arrangement of the provincial governments, except for the above purpose.

"The right of sending troops, stores, and mails along the line, at reasonable rates, must likewise be secured.

"If, on the part of the Government of Nova Scotia, you should express your concurrence in the above proposal, Lord Grey will immediately direct the Governor-General of the British North American Provinces to communicate with the Lieutenant-Governors of New Brunswick and Nova Scotia, who will also be directed to bring the subject under the consideration of their respective Executive Councils, in order that, if they should be prepared to join in carrying the undertaking into effect on the terms proposed, the details of the arrangements between the provinces may be settled, and the sanction of the legislatures obtained for the plan, so that it may with as little delay as possible be submitted for the approval of Parliament.

"Before, however, the proposed measures can be so submitted to Parliament, it is proper to observe there are some of the questions affecting the pecuniary relations between the mother-country and the colonies which will require to be considered; but as these questions have little, if any, reference to Nova Scotia, it is not necessary that they should be further adverted to in this letter.

"I am directed to add that Lord Grey thinks it unnecessary that any measures should be taken by her Majesty's Government to encourage the establishment of steam-vessels for the accommodation of the emigrants of the humbler classes, which is one of the subjects to which you have called his attention.

"If there should be a demand for such vessels, Lord Grey has no doubt that they will speedily be supplied by private enterprise; indeed, he has been informed that ships of large size, intended for the conveyance of emigrants, and furnished with auxiliary steam-power, are already building, both in this country and in America; and if by undertaking the projected railway a demand for labour is created in the British provinces, and a large extent of fertile land is opened for the occupation of settlers, these circumstances cannot fail to lead to an extension and improvement of the means now afforded for the conveyance of emigrants to these provinces [a further reference is made as to convict labour].

(Signed) "B. HAWES."

Extract from a Despatch from Earl Grey to Lord Elgin, dated 14th March, 1851. Presented to Parliament 8th April, 1851.

"Under these circumstances it appears to her Majesty's Government, that no more favourable opportunity could be found for placing the fiscal relations of the mother country and the colony on a permanent and equitable footing. They

are the more induced to adopt this view of the subject, because they are prepared to recommend to Parliament that assistance of the same kind with that which has proved so eminently useful to Canada in the construction of the St. Lawrence canals, should be extended to her in respect of another public work, calculated to be hardly less beneficial to her than these canals. In another despatch I will explain to your lordship the views of her Majesty's Government with regard to the means by which it is hoped that the construction of the Quebec and Halifax Railway may be accomplished. I only advert to this subject at present for the purpose of observing that while the credit of this country is exerted to enable Canada to extend her public works and to develop her resources, *I feel confident that the Parliament of Canada will readily co-operate with her Majesty's Government in adopting measures for diminishing the charge on the British Treasury for the defence of the province.*

"N.B.—Upon the faith of the pledge given as above, of assistance to the proposed line of railway, Canada took upon herself a large share of the military expenses theretofore borne by the British Treasury for the protection of the province."

On the 14th March, 1851, Earl Grey sent the following despatch to the Earl of Elgin and Kincardine, Governor-General of the British North American Provinces.

"Downing Street, 14th March, 1851.

"MY LORD,

"From the correspondence which I have already had with your lordship on the subject of the projected railroad from Halifax to Quebec, you are well aware that, although her Majesty's Government have not hitherto been enabled to take any steps towards the execution of that work, it is an undertaking which they have long earnestly desired to see accomplished, as they believe it to be one calculated very greatly to advance the commercial and political interests, both of the British provinces in North America, and of the mother-country. It is therefore with great satisfaction that I have now to acquaint your lordship that I have reason to hope that the time is at length come when this great national enterprize may be undertaken with advantage, if there still exists (as I am assured there does) as strong a desire to promote it on the part of the inhabitants of Canada and New Brunswick as they formerly expressed, and as the people of Nova Scotia have again recently manifested.

"2. I enclose for your lordship's information a copy of a despatch, addressed to me in the course of the last autumn, by Sir John Harvey, introducing to me Mr. Howe, a member of the Government of Nova Scotia; and also copies of two letters I have received from that gentleman, and of the answer which has by my direction been returned to him. Your lordship will perceive from these papers, that the proposal made by Mr. Howe, on behalf of the province of Nova Scotia, and to which her Majesty's Government have thought it their duty so far to accede as to undertake, on certain conditions, to recommend it for the sanction of Parliament, is to the effect that the credit of this country should be employed to enable the Provinces of Canada, New Brunswick, and Nova Scotia, to raise, upon advantageous terms, the funds necessary for the construction of the proposed railway, just as Canada has already been enabled by similar assistances, to construct the canals by which she has lately completed the most extensive and perfect system of inland navigation which exists in the world. Although her Majesty's Government are of opinion that great caution ought to be observed in pledging the credit of the British Treasury in aid of loans raised by the colonies, they regard the work now in contemplation as being (like the Saint-Lawrence Canals) of so much importance to the whole empire as to justify them in recommending to Parliament that some assistance should be given towards its construction; nor is there any mode of affording such assistance which has been hitherto suggested, which appears on the whole so little burthensome to the mother-country, and at the same time of so much real service to the colonies, as that which is now proposed.

"3. In coming to the decision that Parliament should be invited to give this support to the projected railway, her Majesty's Government have not failed to bear in mind that, by enabling the North American provinces to open this great line of communication, it may fairly be assumed that a powerful stimulus will be given to their advance in wealth and population; and that the consequent increase in their resources will render it possible for them to relieve the mother-country sooner, and more completely than would otherwise be practicable, from charges now borne by it on account of these colonies. In another despatch of this date, I have informed your lordship that, in the judgment of her Majesty's Government, the British colonies ought to be required, as they become capable of doing so, to take upon themselves not only the expenses of their civil government, but a portion at all events of those incurred for their protection; and I have pointed out to you, that the British North American Provinces, and especially Canada, have now reached such a stage in their progress, that the charges for which Parliament is called upon to provide on their account ought to be rapidly diminished. The construction of the proposed railway would greatly contribute to promote this important object. By opening new districts for settlement, and by the demand for labour which will be created during the progress of the work, the projected railway cannot fail to increase the wealth and population of these provinces, while, by affording a rapid and easy communication between them, it will enable them to afford to each other far greater mutual support and assistance than they now can in any difficulty or danger to which they may be exposed.

"4. Your lordship will not fail to observe, from the letter which has been addressed to Mr. Howe, that the assistance which it is proposed to grant to the provinces towards the construction of the proposed railway is to be contingent on provision being made for opening a complete line of communication from Halifax to Quebec, or Montreal; it is necessary, therefore, to ascertain whether Canada and New Brunswick are ready to join with Nova Scotia in raising the capital required for the work in the manner proposed, and if so, in what proportion each province is to become responsible for the expense incurred. The question whether it will be advisable for these two provinces to join in the construction of the projected railway, if they should be enabled, by the assistance of Parliament, to raise the required capital at a low rate of interest, is one for the consideration of their respective legislatures; but, so far as I have the means of forming a judgment on the subject, I should anticipate that their decision would be in favour of doing so. I infer that this is probable, not less from what I have learned of the actual state of public opinion on this subject in the provinces, than from the view which I take of their interest in the work. Though I can well believe that there would be much room for doubting whether the railway would pay as a mercantile speculation to a company looking to traffic only for its remuneration, the case is very different when it is regarded as a public undertaking. When viewed in this light, the various indirect advantages which cannot fail to arise to the provinces from possessing such improved means of communication must be considered, as well as the very great additional value which would be conferred on a vast extent of public lands which are now comparatively worthless. This is a source of profit from which no advantage can in general accrue to the contractors of railways in countries where the soil has been appropriated by individuals; on the contrary, in these countries the purchase of land is not one of the least important items of the expense to be incurred in such undertakings; but where, as in parts of Canada and New Brunswick, a great part of the territory to be traversed by a railway is still unappropriated, and the land may be sold by the public, the increased value given to it by being thus rendered accessible may render it advantageous to construct a railway, though the traffic is not expected to do more at first than pay the working expenses.

"5. If these considerations should induce the legislatures of the three provinces to combine in undertaking the projected railway, the terms on which they are to co-operate with each other for that object will have to be settled; and in coming to such an arrangement, various questions of great difficulty and importance will require to be considered. For instance, it is probable that when the line is completed, the traffic will be far more remunerative at the two extremities than in the

more central portion of it ; while, at the same time, the expense of construction would, from the nature of the country, be precisely higher where the traffic returns would be lowest ; so that if each province were required to pay for the formation of the line through its own territory, and to receive the returns from the traffic through the same, it would follow, that while the expense to New Brunswick would be the greatest, its receipts would be the smallest. On the other hand, as I have just observed, one of the most important sources of profit from the construction of such a railway as that now in contemplation would arise from the sale of land, of which the value would be increased by the work ; and it appears from the papers before me, that New Brunswick would probably derive a greater profit from that source than the two sister provinces. Whether the result upon the whole would be, that each province, considering these various circumstances, ought to take upon itself the construction of the railway through its own territory, or whether, on the contrary, any one should be assisted by the others, is a point on which I have not the means of forming a judgment ; and I would suggest to you, that the best course, with a view of arriving at some practical result, would be, that a deputation from the Executive Councils of the two lower provinces should proceed to the seat of Government in Canada, in order to confer with your lordship and with your Council, for the purpose of coming to some agreement upon the subject ; which, after being approved by the legislatures of the several provinces, might be submitted for the sanction of Parliament.

" 6. It does not appear to me that if such a conference should be held, it need occupy any very great length of time, or that much difficulty would arise in coming to an arrangement for the construction and working of the projected railway, by which the expense of the undertaking on the one hand, and the advantages to be derived from it on the other, might be fairly apportioned between the different provinces. Hereafter I may, probably, be enabled to offer some suggestions as to the manner in which this might be accomplished ; but, at present, I have only to add that I shall transmit copies of this despatch to Sir Edmund Head and to Sir John Harvey, with instructions to them to communicate with your lordship, without delay, on the important subject to which it relates ; and it will give me the highest satisfaction if the result of these communications should be the undertaking of a work which, if completed, cannot, I believe, fail to add greatly to the prosperity of the British provinces in North America, and, at the same time, to give additional strength to the ties which connect them with each other, and with the British empire.—I am, &c.,

(Signed) "GREY."

Extract from a Letter from Earl Grey to the Honourable Joseph Howe, dated 12th June, 1851 :—

" I feel very sanguine of the ultimate assent of New Brunswick to the measure as proposed, and that we shall succeed in getting this most important work, destined, as I believe, to effect a change in the civilized world, accomplished."

Extract from a Letter from Earl Cathcart, late Governor-General of Canada, dated 31st March, 1851 :—

" The very warm interest I naturally feel for the prosperity and welfare of the British possessions in North America, arising from the personal knowledge and experience I had the opportunity of acquiring during the period of my official residence in Canada, fully enables me to appreciate the inestimable advantages, both to themselves and the mother-country, of thus uniting Canada with the Lower Provinces, and by this means securing to the former a direct communication, perfectly independent of the United States, with England, through the port of Halifax, which is accessible at all seasons."

Extract from a Letter of C. D. Archibald, Esq., to the Earl of Elgin, dated 21st June, 1851:—

"A great arc of the globe passing through Halifax and Toronto, if projected on the one hand into Asia, on the other into Europe, will bisect the richest, most populous, and most civilized countries under the sun. On the other side are the countless millions of the Indian Archipelago, China, and Hindostan; on the other the over-crowded busy maps of Europe. The interchange of the commodities of Europe and Asia has in all ages constituted the most lucrative of the world. Since the days of Solomon, if not before, it has been the desire of nations to possess or control this trade, with which the highest state of prosperity and great power have ever been associated. The tract of this commerce has built up cities of palaces in the desert; its desertion has marked the decline of empires. Once lost, it has never been regained; and although the great nation we most affect now controls the trade of the far west, it is deserving of serious consideration, whether the route is not yet capable of one further change. We have the authority of the spirited and intelligent originator of the Atlantic and Pacific railroads, who, more than any other man, has studied the intercommunications of the globe, for the fact that there is a practicable line across the continent of North America which shall shorten the distance between England and the East Indies by more than 5,000 miles, in comparison with the route by the Isthmus of Panama. The British possessions in North America lie midway between these great countries, occupying that zone of the earth upon which, in the other continents, three-fourths, or more, of the whole human family are congregated. Within our borders there is a vast unoccupied food-producing territory, capable of absorbing a population equal to that of the whole of Europe. In addition, I believe that we hold the keys of the track of the future communication between the two grand divisions of the human race; and who shall say that a large share of that enriching traffic, which has gilded every former path, shall not, ere many years, glide along those very channels which it is our present business to open up?

"The day is not far distant when this great highway of nations will traverse our now neglected territory, as surely as a straight line is the shortest distance between two given points."

Extract from a Letter of the Hon. F. Hincks to the Right Hon. Sir John Pakington, dated 31st March, 1852, and asking for imperial assistance for the construction of the Halifax and Quebec Railway, to run by the Valley of the St. John River instead of by the Bay of Chaleurs:—

"Sir,

"Having been honoured with the commands of his Excellency the Governor-General of British North America to proceed to London to endeavour to make final arrangements with regard to the terms on which a loan can be effected for the construction of a line of railway in the provinces of Canada, New Brunswick, and Nova Scotia, with the guarantee of the Imperial Parliament * * * * The scheme of uniting the three principal provinces of British America, by means of a railway, originated with the late Earl of Durham, who formed a strong opinion that imperial interests would be largely promoted by such a work. No action, however, was taken in the matter for some years, nor until it was proposed to construct a great military road through New Brunswick at the expense of the mother-country. The scheme of substituting a railway was then revived, on the supposition that the necessity for a military road being superseded, imperial assistance would be given in aid of such a work to a considerable extent. The Secretary of State for the Colonies proposed that a survey of the line should be made by the officers of the Royal Engineers, and that the expenses of such survey should be borne by the three

provinces. * * * It is proper to state, that in the expectation that the work would be constructed by the Imperial Government, the three provinces agreed to secure the right of way, the land requisite for stations, ten miles in extent, of all ungranted land on each side of the line, and £60,000 sterling per annum to cover any deficiency in revenue. * * * *

"I believe that the importance to imperial interests of this great work is not sufficiently appreciated.

"I have reason to believe that were a line of railway completed from Halifax, and that made the terminus of the voyage of the ocean steamers, fully £50,000 per annum might be saved in the Atlantic mail service, independent of the saving of the sum now paid to the United States for carrying the Canada mails,—a service most unsatisfactorily performed, and most extravagantly charged for. Instead of the British mails being carried over the American railways, it must be obvious that the mails and passengers destined for New York, Boston, and other American cities, would be carried over a great section of the Halifax and Quebec line.

Extracts from a Despatch of Sir John Pakington to the Earl of Elgin, Governor-General of Canada, dated 20th May, 1852, in reply to Mr. Hincks's proposal asking for an imperial guarantee for the Halifax and Quebec Railway by the Valley of the St. John, instead of the route as laid down in Major Robinson's survey :—

"2. Her Majesty's Government are not only anxious to act with the most perfect good faith towards the legislatures and people of the provinces, and to fulfil every just expectation which may have been held out by their predecessors, but they also sincerely desire to adopt all measures by which the welfare of the British colonies in North America can be promoted, as far as they can do so consistently with their duties to the empire at large.

"3. But on a reference to the correspondence which has already taken place on this subject, and especially to the letters addressed by direction of Earl Grey to Mr. Howe, on the 10th March, 1851, and Mr. Hincks on 20th February last, it will appear evident that no pledge had been given of assistance to any line, except that originally proposed.

* * * * *

"Among the peculiar advantages in this point of view, which it was thought that the line selected on the report of Major Robinson and Captain Henderson would realize, were the opening up of a new tract of maritime country, easily accessible with the railroad, but almost unapproachable without it, to emigration from these islands; and the effecting a safe and continuous route through the province, which, both by its distance from the American frontier, and its proximity to the sea, might be peculiarly available for military purposes.

"N.B.—The line selected by Major Robinson and Captain Henderson is that adopted by the Halifax and Quebec Railway Company, Limited, in its integrity."

From the close of this despatch the matter of imperial assistance remained in abeyance until the summer of 1857, when the three provinces again united, and sent delegates to this country to confer with the Imperial Government. The following is copy of a Letter from the Hon. J. A. Macdonald, Premier of the Canadian Government, and one of the delegates, addressed to the Provincial Secretary of Canada :—

* This survey cost the provinces £30,000.

" *Toronto, 1st February, 1838.*

" SIR,

" Having been authorized by the minute of Council of the 9th July last to urge on the Imperial Government the reasons which should induce the immediate construction of an inter-colonial railway to Halifax, I have the honour to report for the information of his Excellency, that, under the authority contained in that minute, I sought the assistance and obtained the valuable aid of the present Solicitor-General for Lower Canada, who acted with me accordingly on this service.

" At the time of our arrival in England, events in India had assumed a most threatening aspect, and in consequence, the attention of her Majesty's Government was very much occupied with matters of a more imminent nature.

" We proceeded, however, to communicate as well with the Secretary of State for the Colonies, as with Lord Palmerston, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, and the Secretary of State for War, and other members of her Majesty's Government, and explained verbally and at length our views on the subject of our mission.

" The importance of the work to imperial interests was fully acknowledged, and the means by which its execution could best be accomplished were fully discussed.

" After these communications, we deemed it advisable to embody our views in a written memorandum, which we laid before the Colonial Secretary. That memorandum fully states the arguments pressed on the consideration of the Home Government, and is now submitted for the approval of Council.

" The Canadian delegates had the advantage of communicating, while in London, with Mr. Johnson and Mr. Archibald, from Nova Scotia, who were also urging the same subject in the interests of that province. The propositions advanced by these gentlemen were nearly identical with those submitted on the part of Canada.

" Being apprised that the prorogation of Parliament, the absence of some of her Majesty's advisers, and the pressing nature of the Indian difficulties, would preclude any immediate conclusion being come to on the propositions of either Canada or Nova Scotia, I considered that a more prolonged attendance would be followed with no advantage, and the question was left under the consideration of the Government.

" The despatch of the Secretary of State for the Colonies of the 15th January, 1838, containing the reply of her Majesty's Government, having now arrived, I deem it a fitting time formally to report the action which was taken on the mission intrusted to me.

" I would state in conclusion that the Colonial Governments of Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, as well as her Majesty's advisers, seem deeply impressed with the necessity of this work on imperial as well as colonial grounds. My conviction is, that its construction is only a question of time, and I would respectfully urge that the early attention of the Legislature should be directed to it.

" I have the honour to be, Sir,

" Your obedient servant,

" The Hon. T. J. J. Loranger, (Signed) " JOHN A. MACDONALD."

" *Provincial Secretary.*"

Extracts from Memorandum above referred to, and which was submitted to the Imperial Government :—

" The necessity of constructing a military road between Halifax and Quebec, so as to render Canada accessible to her Majesty's forces at all seasons of the year, seems long to have engaged the attention of the British Government.

" In 1838 and 1839, when Canada was invaded by organized parties of marauders from the neighbouring country, with the avowed intention of conquest, troops were transported by that route in winter, when the St. Lawrence was closed, with much difficulty, at an enormous expense, and with great suffering

to the soldiery; and the impossibility of carrying military stores in sufficient quantities was then also fully proved.

"Several explorations were consequently made by the military authorities, with a view to the construction of a military road as part of the system of defence of the British North American colonies. It was then suggested that a railway, besides being of more utility for this purpose than an ordinary road, would be of great commercial benefit to those provinces, and at the same time confer the political advantage of connecting them more intimately with the mother country and with each other.

"As this scheme would cost much more than the road originally intended, and as the colonies would be so much more benefited thereby, it was thought right that they should contribute to the expense of construction.

"A survey was accordingly made in the year 1848, by Major Robinson and other officers selected by the Imperial Government, but at the expense of the colonies.

"Misapprehension arose between Lord Grey and Mr. Howe, of Nova Scotia, then conducting the negotiation, as to whether, in case Major Robinson's line were adopted, the imperial guarantee would not also be extended to a lateral railway running from the main line through New Brunswick westward to the frontier of the United States.

"This side line, if constructed, would have much improved the commercial character of Major Robinson's line, as it would have formed a valuable feeder, and connected it with the general railway system of the United States. Acting, therefore, under the belief that the guarantee was to be so extended, the three provinces of Canada, New Brunswick, and Nova Scotia made an agreement to construct the railway from Halifax to Quebec in equal proportions, and proceeded to legislate upon it with a view to the immediate execution of the work.

"On its being ascertained that it had not been intended by the British Government to grant the guarantee to the local line above referred to, all the objections to Major Robinson's route revived, and the arrangements between the provinces fell to the ground.

"Anxiously desiring the construction of the railway, the Provinces, although much disappointed at the frustration of their expectations, entered into a new arrangement.

"They agreed, if the railway was built along the valley of the river St. John, Nova Scotia would advance three-twelfths, Canada four-twelfths, and New Brunswick five-twelfths of the cost of construction.

"This line promised great commercial advantages, and a fair pecuniary return, and at the same time satisfied the condition imposed by the Imperial Government, that it should pass exclusively through British territory. The agreement thus altered was submitted to the Imperial Government for approval; but Sir John Pakington, then Colonial Secretary, in a despatch, dated 20th May, 1852, intimated his disapproval of the proposed deviation from the Eastern line, and that he therefore did not feel warranted in recommending the guarantee to Parliament. He, however, at the same time stated, that the Imperial Government was by no means insensible to the great national objects involved in the construction of the line, and that the most favourable attention would be given to any modification of the proposals then before him. The negotiations thus fell a second time to the ground, the Provinces are without their inter-colonial railway, and England has yet no military road to Canada.

"The three Provinces have been driven, from the failure of these negotiations, to undertake, within their several territories, without concert, and on their own unaided credit and responsibility, the construction of railways, no doubt of local advantage, but not of general or national importance.

"It was not thought in Canada a fitting time to press this subject again on the British Government, when all its energies were directed to the vigorous prosecution of the Russian war, a struggle in which Canada fully sympathized, and was ready to make its own. But now that peace has been restored, it would seem that no time should be lost in undertaking this great work. Circumstances have arisen during the progress of the war,—the enlistment and Nicaraguan questions with the United States for instance,—which show that the necessity for such a

road has not decreased. Whether as a means of pouring into Canada a sufficient force, or of withdrawing it therefrom, without delay, and at all seasons, in case of sudden exigency, it is equally called for.

"The only bar to its construction up to 1852 was the difference of opinion as to route; and that difference, it is believed, is not irreconcilable.

"While imperial interests require as imperatively as ever the completion of this project, the position of Canada with respect to it has materially altered.

"In 1852, there were no railways in operation in Canada (with two important exceptions), and she had no winter route to the Atlantic; but since that time ten lines, extending over about 1,600 miles, have been constructed, at an aggregate cost of about nineteen millions sterling, by private companies, chartered and aided by money grants from the Provincial Government to the extent of nearly five millions and a half. This sum has been raised partly by the bonds of Canada, on the immediate credit of her consolidated revenue, bearing six per cent. interest, and partly by her bonds, issued on the credit of a general municipal fund, established in the province by legislative authority. Preparations are now also in progress for the construction of an interior line of communication, far removed from the American frontier, by a combined system of railway and canal between the river Ottawa and Lake Huron.

"Canada has, therefore, already assumed the full measure of pecuniary obligation which her resources render prudent; but as access to the ocean, and communication with England, can only be had in winter through the United States, it is manifest that, in so far as imperial interests are concerned, the railway facilities are in a great measure incomplete.

"Canada is fully alive to the importance of providing for the maintenance of her connection with England; and she has sought opportunity, and availed herself of every occasion, practically to cement that relation.

"For the purpose of establishing a direct postal communication with England, which should not only put a stop to a large contribution to the revenue of the United States, but also attract to the colony a share of that trade and that emigration which was being diverted to that country, she has established, by the payment of an annual subsidy of £50,000, a direct weekly line of ocean steamers between the colony and England. In this enterprise she is not only unaided by England, but has to combat a line plying to the ports of the United States, supported by a subsidy from the Imperial Government exceeding £180,000 per annum.

"The Province has also enrolled, drilled, and armed, at her own expense, a large and available volunteer force, consisting already of sixteen troops of cavalry, seven field batteries of artillery, five companies of foot artillery, and fifty companies of riflemen; all provided with the most modern and effective arms. This force is maintained at a heavy cost to the Colonial treasury, and, being well disciplined, would be of essential and immediate service, should occasion arise for their active employment.

"In addition to this, Canada has been divided into military districts; and the whole sedentary militia, consisting of every man capable of bearing arms, has been organized.

"In so far as the commercial wants of the province are concerned, they are amply supplied by the existing railway communications to the American seaports, New York and Boston, and by the railway from Montreal to Portland, over which a Canadian company has complete control; but this entire dependence on, and exclusive relations with a foreign country, cannot but exercise an important and unwholesome influence on the status of Canada as a portion of the empire, and tend to establish elsewhere that identity of interest which ought to exist between the mother country and the colony.

"We are sensible that we need not dwell on the grave and possibly disastrous consequences which, if a rupture should unhappily arise with the United States, may result from the want of communication in winter between England and the interior of the province; but it is evident that the safety of the colony can only be secured either by keeping, from the moment of the first apprehension of danger, a military power within it of such magnitude as would repel any invading force, during the five months when reinforcements or supplies could not be

obtained by sea; or the means must be created of throwing in that force, and transporting them to those points which are assailable.

"We would further mention some facts which show that while the means of resisting invasion are in no way increased, the facilities for accomplishment are daily becoming greater. There are now no less than seven American railways terminating directly at the Canadian boundary, and a far greater number touching the waters of the river St. Lawrence and the lakes Ontario and Erie, which divide Canada from the United States. All these roads may be said to form together a continuous line, running parallel with, or in easy proximity to, the provincial boundary; and by their means, America would be enabled to concentrate, with the utmost expedition and ease, all her forces upon any quarter, and to choose her own point of attack.

"It may be urged that war with America is impossible, or at least an event so unlikely and remote as to justify no expenditure in anticipation of it. Admitting that the character and moderation of the Federal Government afford assurances of continued amity, it is not to be forgotten that there are other elements, not subordinate, whose influence may at any time become too powerful for control. The best safeguard against aggression is the power of repelling it. The knowledge of our weakness and exposure to attack may do much to precipitate that which, were our strength understood, would never be undertaken. It is now well known that, being cut off from England, the province cannot make her resources and strength available, should the necessity for their exercise unhappily come to pass; and when the occasion does arise, it will be too late to provide the means. The road cannot be constructed with a due regard to reasonable economy for several years, and experience shows how impossible it is to foresee what events within that period may interrupt the friendly relations with a country the peculiar constitution of which vests so much power in a class whose interests or passions may, at any time, prompt them to acts which would necessarily lead to a rupture. While, therefore, the commercial or material advantages to Canada which would follow the construction of the road are comparatively unimportant, she feels it her duty to urge the high national considerations which demand that the work should be undertaken.

"There can be little fear of any causes of difference between the colonies and the United States. The danger hitherto has sprung from subjects wherein, as a colony, Canada had no interest, but which (such as the Central American, the Oregon, and enlistment questions) were purely of imperial concern; so that, should hostilities arise, Canada would (as she was during the last war) be made the battle-ground in a quarrel which she did not cause, and in which she had no special concern. The colony has received the solemn assurance of the Imperial Government, a promise on which she implicitly relies, that while she is expected to assume her share of the burden of any force which her own internal wants may require in time of peace, yet that the whole power of the empire will be put forth for her protection and security against foreign aggression. Canada has acted on this assurance, and performed her part of the obligation; but we would respectfully urge that, without means of communication with Great Britain, the Imperial Government is powerless to perform its share; and that the very first step towards the fulfilment of the promise is to provide proper access to the country.

"But, apologizing for presenting at perhaps too great length arguments whose weight may be fully admitted, we proceed to suggest a mode by which we propose that the work should be constructed.

"The question of route is one which, in so far as Canada is concerned, might be left to the Imperial Government and the Lower Provinces; but the distance of that which would probably be chosen may be assumed at 600 miles. By Major Robinson's report, the cost of the longest or coast route of 635 miles is £7,000 sterling per mile, to which ten per cent. is added for contingencies; making the cost in round numbers £5,000,000.

"Now Canada has already built, or has in progress, 110, and Nova Scotia 60 miles, available for any route selected for the intercolonial road; leaving 420 to be constructed. Allowing one million sterling to be added to Major Robinson's estimate for the rise in the cost of labour and materials, since 1848, the

balance to be provided for is £5,000,000. This would include the cost of the whole section apportioned to and now in process of construction by Nova Scotia, but does not include the cost of the 110 miles in Canada, on which a million, raised from other sources, will be expended. * * *

"Canada and New Brunswick have already appropriated all their ungranted public lands, for ten miles on each side of the line, in aid of the undertaking. It is assumed that these lands amount to about four millions of acres.

"The system of land grants to aid the construction of railways has been followed with the most entire success in the United States of America, where lands from being almost worthless and unsalable, have risen in value with a rapidity far exceeding the most hopeful anticipations. * * *

(Signed) "JOHN A. MACDONALD.
"JOHN ROSE."

Copy of a Despatch from the Earl of Mulgrave, Lieutenant-Governor of Nova Scotia, to the Governor-General of Canada :—

"Government House, Halifax, N.S., May 29th, 1858.

"SIR,—I have the honour to transmit a copy of a report of the Executive Council of this province, of which I have approved, on the subject of an intercolonial railroad between Canada, New Brunswick, and Nova Scotia, a duplicate of which I have forwarded to the Lieutenant-Governor of New Brunswick.

"I have, &c.

(Signed)

"MULGRAVE."

"His Excellency Sir Edmund Head, Bart., &c."

Report of the Executive Council to the Lieutenant-Governor of Nova Scotia, dated 7th May, 1858, relating to an intercolonial railroad :—

"The Council, having had their attention drawn to the despatches of the Governor-General of Canada, dated 23rd of February last, and of the Lieutenant-Governor of New Brunswick of the 10th of March last, with their inclosures, upon the important subject of an intercolonial railroad, desire your Excellency to convey to the Governor-General of Canada and the Lieutenant-Governor of New Brunswick respectively, the satisfaction with which the Executive Council of Nova Scotia have joined the sister provinces in pressing the consideration of this great enterprise upon the British Government, by forwarding an address from the legislature of this province to her Majesty, a copy of which is herewith inclosed.

"The Council advise your Excellency to convey to the Governor-General the entire willingness of your Government to confer by delegation with Canada and New Brunswick, at Fredericton, or elsewhere, at any time that his Excellency the Governor-General may think best calculated to promote the advancement of a project in which the three provinces are so deeply interested.

"Approved by his Excellency in Council, 25th May, 1858.

(Signed)

"CHARLES TUPPER, C.E.C."

To the Queen's Most Excellent Majesty.

The humble Address of the Legislative Council and Assembly of Nova Scotia :—

"MAY IT PLEASE YOUR MAJESTY :

"We, the loyal and devoted subjects of your Majesty, the Legislative Council and House of Assembly of Nova Scotia, now in provincial parliament

convened, approach your Majesty to renew an expression of the unabated interest which the Legislature and people of this province continue to take in the long-agitated project of an intercolonial railroad, by which the colonies of Canada, New Brunswick, and Nova Scotia, with the sister colony of Prince Edward's Island, may be bound more closely together, and their intercourse and union facilitated, and the communication from the parent state and your Majesty's North-American empire be improved by a rapid and efficient mode of transport from the seaboard to its distant borders, *independently of passage through foreign territory.*

"This great enterprise, of national no less than colonial importance, has been through many years pressed upon the consideration of your Majesty's Government. During the last season delegates from the Governments of Canada and this province, in person, urged the undertaking on the attention of your Majesty's ministers.

"The benefits of the measure, both in its national and colonial relations, are acknowledged; and we abstain from repeating arguments so recently presented and so familiar, further than humbly to beg your Majesty's consideration of the statements contained in the letter of the delegates from this province, addressed to the Right Hon. the Colonial Secretary, dated in London on the 20th August, 1857, a copy of which accompanies this address.

"The gigantic work we advocate has been facilitated by the efforts and expenditures of the provinces; *but its accomplishment is beyond their unaided resources; and on the efficient assistance of your Majesty's Government depends this great result.*

"In urging our prayer on your Majesty, we are assured that it will not be its least recommendation to your royal consideration, that, while it has in view the consolidation of national power, it affords to your Majesty another occasion of manifesting your benignity and regards towards your loyal colonial subjects in this portion of your extended empire, by aiding an undertaking in which their feelings and interests are deeply engaged.

"We humbly pray that *your Majesty will be graciously pleased to extend imperial aid to this important measure, and to cause measures to be taken for ascertaining the views and ability of the several provinces with respect to it, and the nature and extent of the assistance they respectively require, and of the aid your Majesty's Government will be disposed to afford; that arrangements may be matured for the early commencement and the completion of this work by the united efforts of the three provinces of Canada, New Brunswick, and Nova Scotia, with such co-operation and aid from your Majesty's Imperial Government as may be commensurate with the greatness of the object and the magnitude of the national interests which it promotes.*

"EDWARD KENNY, President of Legislative Council.

"STEWART CAMPBELL, Speaker of the House of Assembly.

"*Halifax, N.S., May 1, 1858.*"

Extract from Captain Galton's Report on the Railways of the United States, dated 8th December, 1856, presented to Parliament in 1857 :—

"In addition to these eastern and western routes of the United States, must be mentioned the communication by water along the lakes, a communication which is continued by the Erie Canal to New York, and by the St. Lawrence through Canada to the Atlantic; and the line of Canadian railways, which since the opening of the Grand Trunk Railway has assumed considerable importance. This line commences with the Great Western of Canada at Detroit, and, passing through Toronto, is continued by the Grand Trunk Railway, which, when the Victoria Bridge shall have been completed, will afford an interrupted line of railway communication through Montreal to Quebec, and to Portland in the State of Maine. *But it cannot be considered that this line of communication*

is completed, or that a proper outlet has been afforded to the trade of the British North-American possessions, until the line of railway through Canada shall have been continued on to Halifax.

(Signed)

"DOUGLAS GALTON, Captain R.E.

Extract from "Martin's British Colonies :"—

"The harbours of Nova Scotia, for number, capacity, and safety, are unparalleled in any other port of the world. Between Halifax and Cape Corso are twelve ports capable of receiving ships of the line, and there are fourteen others of sufficient depth for merchantmen.

"The harbour of Halifax has not perhaps a superior in the world : from its situation being directly open to the Atlantic, it is scarcely interrupted with. It is our chief naval station in North America, and affords safe anchorage for one thousand ships.

"New Brunswick is generally composed of bold eminences, sometimes swelling into mountains, and again subsiding into vale and lowlands, covered with noble forests and intersected by numerous rivers and lakes, affording water communications in every direction to the pleasing settlements scattered throughout the fertile alluvial spots termed intervales. The greater part of the territory, namely about 14,000,000 acres, is still in a state of nature, adorned with abundance of timber and fine extending prairies. New Brunswick is healthy."

Copy of Resolutions passed by both branches of the Canadian Legislature, August 16, 1858, and upon which addresses have been forwarded and presented to her Majesty :—

"RESOLVED :—

"1. That the construction of an intercolonial railway, connecting the provinces of New Brunswick and Nova Scotia with Canada, has long been regarded as a matter of national concern, and ought earnestly to be pressed on the consideration of the Imperial Government.

"2. That during several months of the year, intercourse between the United Kingdom and Canada can only be carried on through the territory of the United States of America, and that such dependence on, and exclusive relations with, a foreign country cannot, even in time of peace, but exercise an important and unwholesome influence on the *status* of Canada as a portion of the empire, and may tend to establish elsewhere that identity of interest which ought to exist between the mother country and her colonies.

"3. That while this House implicitly relies on the repeated assurances of the Imperial Government that the strength of the empire would be put forth to secure this province against external aggression, it is convinced that such strength cannot be efficiently exerted during a large portion of the year, from the absence of sufficient means of communication, and that should the amicable relations which at present so happily exist between Great Britain and the United States be ever disturbed, the difficulty of access to the ocean during the winter months might seriously endanger the safety of the province.

"4. That in view of the speedy opening up of the territories now occupied by the Hudson's Bay Company, and of the development and settlement of the vast regions between Canada and the Pacific Ocean, it is essential to the interests of the empire at large that a highway extending from the Atlantic Ocean westward should exist, which would at once place the whole British possessions in America within the ready access and easy protection of Great Britain, whilst by the facilities for internal communication thus afforded, the prosperity of those great dependencies would be promoted, their strength consolidated and added to the

strength of the empire, and their permanent union with the mother country secured.

"5. That Canada has already nearly completed the construction within the province of a chain of railways over 1,600 miles in length, extending from the eastern frontier of the province towards its western boundary, which is of the greatest importance to its commercial and material prosperity, and forming part of the great proposed highway, but which, without completion to the ocean, is comparatively useless in a national point of view, either as bringing the sister colonies together, or as connecting those colonies with the parent state.

"6. That this House, under these circumstances, is deeply impressed with the importance of an intercolonial railway, and the necessity for its immediate construction; and desiring to co-operate with the Imperial Government and the provinces of Nova Scotia and New Brunswick in securing its speedy completion, this House approves of the memorandum addressed to her Majesty's Secretary of State for the Colonies by the Canadian delegates, and laid before Parliament by his Excellency the Governor-General in his gracious message communicated on the thirty-first day of May last, and recommends that the future negotiations should be conducted as nearly as may be on the basis thereby submitted.

"7. That in the opinion of this House it is expedient that his Excellency the Governor-General should cause all communication with the other provinces, necessary for common action on the subject, to be entered into.

"8. That an humble address be presented to Her Majesty embodying the foregoing resolution, and that the Honourable the Legislative Council be asked to concur in the said address."

**MINUTES OF PROCEEDINGS AT A MEETING held at
the Thatched House Tavern, St. James's Street,
on Saturday, the 5th June, 1858, relating to the
formation of the HALIFAX AND QUEBEC RAILWAY.**

PRESENT:—VISCOUNT BURY, M.P., IN THE CHAIR.

The Rt. Hon. SOTHERON ESTCOURT, M.P.	The Hon. CHAS. FITZWILLIAM, M.P.
Capt. the Hon. JOHN VIVIAN, M.P.	R. P. NISBET, Esq., M.P.
The Hon. Sir A. NAPIER MACNAB, Bart.	The Hon. Justice HALIBURTON.
Viscount GODERICH, M.P.	JOHN NEELD, Esq., M.P.
The Hon. SAMUEL CUNARD.	FRAS. S. HEAD, Esq.
Colonel BOLDERO, M.P.	ALFRED ROCHE, Esq., and Others.
JAMES WYLD, Esq., M.P.	

THE CHAIRMAN.—Gentlemen, before opening the proceedings, I have to read two or three letters from gentlemen who have expressed their interest in the cause, but who have been unable from various circumstances to attend here to-day. The first is from Mr. Cummins, a director of the British North-American Bank. He "regrets" that it will not be in his power to be present at the Meeting to be held to-morrow, having, previously to the receipt of your letter, "made another engagement." He then says, "I am strongly convinced of the expediency of the object you have in view." I will not read the whole letter. The next is from Mr. Terrell, chairman of the Bristol Chamber of Commerce. He regrets it is not in his power to be present at the Meeting, but he says "he considers that" the completion of the railway is of great importance to the country generally, and to this locality (Bristol). Should our relations with "the United States become unsettled, it would be absolutely necessary that there should be an uninterrupted railway communication between Halifax and the interior of Canada." I will not take up the time of the Meeting by reading the remainder of the letter. What I have already quoted is sufficient to show Mr. Terrell's interest in the matter. There is another letter, from Mr. Samuel Gurney, M.P. He regrets that his absence from London will prevent his attending the Meeting.

I may also say I have had conversations with Mr. Headlam, M.P.; Mr. Schneider, M.P.; Mr. George G. Glyn, M.P.; Mr. Ackroyd, M.P.; and Mr. Collins, M.P. They state that they are perfectly ready, if this Meeting resolves on any course of action, to further that course of action to the best of their power.

Now, gentlemen, it will be my duty, in as few words as possible, to state the objects of this Meeting. (Hear, hear.) We all know that we are met in the interest of a railroad, having for its termini

Halifax on the Atlantic seaboard and Quebec on the St. Lawrence. It will there meet a chain of railroads already constructed or in process of construction, which will carry it far into the West. That is the object of the Meeting, to which I will recur in a moment.

But I must first say why I am in the chair. I know that in the presence of a great many gentlemen connected with the colonies, both by birth, by trade, and by intimate acquaintance with the subject, it may seem to be an act of impertinence on my part to come here and take the chair. I must, however, throw myself on your indulgence. I have at least not done so without some hesitation, and without having been fully convinced of the importance of the meeting. I was for a considerable time in an official position in Canada, and there I had full opportunity of appreciating the absolute necessity which exists for the construction of a railroad of this description. From that time to this I have been very much interested in the success of the undertaking. I hope, therefore, I shall be absolved from the charge of impertinence in presiding here to-day. (Hear, hear.)

The Meeting, I need hardly say, is of an entirely preliminary character, and commits no one to any course of action by anything which may take place at it. We have simply met to ask the advice of gentlemen interested in this matter, and to consult as to the best means of carrying out an object which I believe we all have at heart.

The first thing to which I will advert is the very great political importance of this undertaking. Although its commercial importance is not, I believe, second to that of any railway that could be constructed, I am not competent to treat the subject from a commercial point of view. I confess that I myself regard it almost entirely with reference to its political advantages (Hear, hear), and it is principally on that account that I am interested about it. If any one looks at the position in which we now are with regard to our communication with British North America, he will see that we depend almost entirely for that communication on the United States. That anomalous position is partly owing, as I believe my friend Mr. Justice Haliburton will confirm, to some very bungling diplomacy which took place a few years ago, and to which he so well alluded in a very able lecture of his at Glasgow. (Hear, hear.) Some millions of the best acres of timber-land in New Brunswick, and the navigation of Saint John's river, were ceded, by the treaty to which I allude, to the United States. The fact is indisputable that we are almost entirely dependent for our communication with our greatest colony upon the United States. When you once get into the interior of Canada, you find railroads running from every direction, far away into the west; and it certainly is a very great mistake, in a political point of view, that the principal link of the chain is wanting, and that we have not already connected the most important sea-port of our North-American possessions with the interior of our colonies. Halifax presents advantages which, I believe, are not enjoyed by any other port north

of New York that of being open all the year. Steamers (as my hon. friend Mr. Cunard will tell us) can always run into Halifax, and it will be a saving of 600 miles between London and New York if we had the terminus of the line of steamers at Halifax, and a railroad running from Halifax to Quebec. The line would ultimately become part of a vast chain of communication between the Atlantic and the Pacific (Hear, hear), for, I believe, our trade in the Pacific Ocean with China and with India, must ultimately be carried on through our North-American possessions; at any rate, our political and commercial supremacy will have utterly departed from us, if we neglect that very great and important consideration, and if we fail to carry out to its fullest extent the physical advantages which the country offers to us, and which we only have to stretch out our hands to take advantage of. My friend Mr. Fitzwilliam will tell us all about that. He has travelled more than once or twice over the whole of the line of country between Vancouver's Island and Canada, and he consequently knows a very great portion of that country. I may observe in passing, although it hardly bears directly upon the point which we are now discussing, that the land between Lake Superior and the Rocky Mountains, is exceedingly favourable for the continuing of our communication, and that a very little trouble will make the Saskatchewan, which runs from the Rocky Mountains to Lake Superior, navigable for ships of considerable size. The Columbia would afford another outlet to the sea; although, by another system of blundering diplomacy, the navigation of the lower part of the Columbia has been lost to us. On taking a bird's-eye view of the whole continent, we find that steam communication exists between St. Lawrence and the head of Lake Superior; that steam communication may be very easily made between the head of Lake Superior and Vancouver's Island; and the only thing we want to complete the chain will be this railway that we are talking of between Halifax and Quebec. I think I need only add one thing more before dismissing this portion of the subject, in order to prove its extreme importance in a political point of view. Suppose any difficulty should occur with the United States, suppose that difficulty occurred in winter, the Americans could march a force upon Quebec, and we should be utterly incapacitated from sending any relief from England to raise the siege of that fortress. Our only way of getting to Quebec is through Portland and the State of Maine; we should be debarred from going through Maine if we were at war with the United States, and Quebec must fall before any assistance could come to it from our side of the water; but, if on the contrary, this railway were made, a state of war with the United States would increase the resources of the railway, and increase our commercial supremacy, by sending over it all the trade which has hitherto been forced to go by way of Portland—not, of course, that I wish for war—I wish to deprecate war, especially one with people of our own race and language. But the best way to preserve peace is to be prepared for its infraction, and I mean to say

that war, if this railway were constructed, instead of being absolute ruin to us, would cut the other way. It would be actually in our favour instead of against us.

I will now pass from that part of the subject and touch upon the facilities which exist for carrying out the railway. I have before me a report which was made by a great friend of mine, Major (now Colonel) Robinson, who surveyed the whole line at the instance of the Imperial Government. He sent his report to the Governor-General of Canada, who transmitted it home with a very flattering despatch, in which he satisfactorily proves not only that the line is perfectly practicable, but that it would be one of the cheapest lines which could by any possibility be constructed. He estimates the total cost of its construction at £3,000,000 (as this pamphlet which my friend Mr. Fitzwilliam has before him mentions), or about £7,000 per mile; and as the best proof that this estimate was ample, a line of railway from St. Andrew's to Woodstock, on the western border of new Brunswick, similar in all respects, has been constructed and pronounced to be the best-finished line in America, much under that estimate." Now, that is the estimate that Major Robinson, in his report, laid before the Imperial Government; probably, therefore, Major Robinson's estimate would be ample. But, as I said before, I do not feel myself competent to enter into the commercial view of the question; I only wish to point to Major Robinson's report as affording very good evidence that the difficulties offered by the physical construction and lay of the land are not by any means insurmountable, but, on the contrary, every facility is offered to the line.

Now, in a political point of view, the facilities afforded are very considerable. On the 30th of May, 1849, Mr. Hincks, in the House of Assembly of Canada, moved a series of resolutions, the last of which, if you will allow me, I will read to this meeting,—“ That if Her Majesty's Government should undertake the construction of the said railway, either directly or through the instrumentality of a private company, it shall be lawful for the Governor in Council, on behalf of this province, to undertake to pay yearly, in proportion as the work advances, a sum not exceeding £20,000 sterling, towards making good the deficiency (if any) in the income from the railway, to meet the interest of the sum expended upon it; and to place at the disposal of the Imperial Government all the ungranted lands within the province lying in the line of railway, to the extent of ten miles on each side thereof; and to undertake to obtain, pay for, and place at the disposal of the Imperial Government, all the land required within the province for the line of railway proper, stations, and termini.” An Act of Parliament was passed upon that resolution being carried (and I believe it was carried unanimously), granting to Her Majesty £20,000 a year if she should undertake the construction of this railway, either by herself or through the instrumentality of a private company. Now, I will not read the other resolutions which bear upon this subject, but I will merely

advert to them. The Nova Scotia General Assembly passed a resolution in almost identical terms; at any rate, in identical sense, voting also Crown lands for ten miles on each side of the railway, and £20,000 a year towards the expenses of the railway; and binding itself to purchase and place at the disposal of the company all private lands required for stations, and so on, free of charge. I will not trouble the meeting with the resolutions which were passed at Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, but I may say they were substantially the same as that passed by Canada.

The Canadian resolutions were passed in May, 1849. Those of Nova Scotia in April, 1849, and the New Brunswick resolutions in March, 1849; and there was another series of resolutions passed by New Brunswick on the 25th April, 1850, insisting even more strongly on the construction of the work, and even going so far as to say, that if Great Britain wishes to keep up her connection with her North-American provinces and her imperial supremacy over these colonies, the only way to do it is to construct this railroad. They stated in diplomatic language that their political connection with the mother country was not worth very much unless this railway were constructed. They felt strongly on the subject, and they saw its political importance in a way which you, living on this side of the Atlantic, can hardly appreciate, but which, no doubt, my friend Mr. Justice Halliburton will advert to and confirm. Upon the receipt of the report of Major Robinson and the resolutions of Canada, Nova Scotia, and New Brunswick, Lord Grey wrote a despatch, of which I will venture to quote an extract; he says,—“Although her Majesty’s Government are of opinion that great caution ought to be observed in pledging the credit of the British Treasury in aid of loans raised by the colonies, they regard the work now in contemplation as being (like the Saint Lawrence Canals) of so much importance to the whole empire as to justify them in recommending to Parliament that some assistance should be given towards its construction; nor is there any mode of affording such assistance which has been hitherto suggested which appears on the whole so little burthensome to the mother country, and, at the same time, of so much real service to the colonies as that which is now proposed.”

The words “that which is now proposed” refer to a proposal which he notices in the former part of his despatch, that a minimum rate of interest on the whole amount to be expended in the construction of the railroad should be guaranteed by the British Government. That shows the very high estimation in which Her Majesty’s Government at that time held the construction of this railway. I might quote the authority of Lord Cathcart and Lord Elgin, who was the Governor-General of Canada, and many other distinguished statesmen, who have had political or other connection with the North-American provinces. I might adduce their authority to prove that this railroad is absolutely indispensable. After Lord Grey’s expression of opinion some little time was allowed to elapse, during which

time the question of an imperial guarantee was re-opened and re-discussed. Lord Grey went out of office, I believe, in 1852, and then Sir John Pakington succeeded to the Colonial Office, and a deputation was sent, I think, from the three provinces, to wait upon him and represent to him the state in which the matter had been left by his predecessor. My friend Mr. Hincks, the Governor of Barbadoes, represented Canada on that occasion, and we all know that he is as good a fellow as ever lived, but he was rather peppery and choleric. I understand that the interview with Sir John Pakington terminated in rather an unexpected and stormy manner, and the interests of the colony and of this railroad have suffered in consequence; inasmuch as nothing has been done from that day to this, and the matter now remains in the state in which I have endeavoured to sketch it.

I think I have pointed out, as far as it has gone, the condition in which we now are. There is but one thing further to mention. Since the time that Canada offered a guarantee of £20,000 a year, she has incurred debts almost to the full extent of her credit, almost as much as she can expend upon public works, in the construction of the Grand Trunk Railway, Upper Canada. I do not know what effect that large expenditure of her money would have if we ask now for the £20,000 a year which she guaranteed then. It is only fair to mention that, but I do not know how it would be regarded; the subject has not been mooted, and we cannot tell in what way the Government of Canada would look upon the matter: but we know the present sentiments of the Governments of Nova Scotia and New Brunswick.

I hold in my hand a Toronto paper called, *The Toronto Leader*, in which is an article headed, "The Intercolonial Railway," which contains the following statement:—

"Resolved—That a conference be requested with the Legislative Council, by committee, on the general state of the Province; and that at such conference the Committee of this House request that the Legislative Council will unite with this House in an address to the Queen on the subject of the Intercolonial Railroad between Canada, New Brunswick, and Nova Scotia, and inviting the assistance of Her Majesty's Government in that great project."

Now I merely quote that to prove that the sentiments of New Brunswick and Nova Scotia remain unchanged upon the subject. A paper has been this moment put into my hands, showing that Canada also still feels very greatly interested in it; perhaps, therefore, my observation with regard to the possible unwillingness of Canada still to grant the £20,000 goes for nothing; it says, "So deeply did Canada feel interested in the project, that during last autumn she sent home the Hon. Mr. MacDonald, attorney-general of Canada West, and Mr. Rose, to co-operate with the Nova Scotia Delegates." So that I suppose Canada remains in the same position as the others I have described.

It now remains for this meeting to decide what course will be

adopted towards securing for the company, which we hope to form, the advantages which I have mentioned. It is for this meeting to decide whether it would not be advisable that a deputation should wait upon the Colonial Secretary, asking him to recognize the company intended to be formed as the instruments of Her Majesty in carrying out the railroad, and thereby securing to that company the advantages which I have enumerated. The Act of Parliament which was passed by the Legislature of Canada contains the following clause:—"Be it therefore enacted, that if Her Majesty's Government shall undertake the construction of the said railway, either directly or through the instrumentality of a private company, it shall be lawful for the Governor in Council, on behalf of the province, to undertake to pay yearly, in proportion as the work advances, a sum, not exceeding £20,000 sterling, towards making good the deficiency (if any)," and so on. If, therefore, Her Majesty's Government are willing to recognize the company, which we hope to form, as their instruments in carrying out this railway, it will immediately place the company in the position of claiming from all these various Legislatures the £20,000 a year which they have each promised, the crown lands they promised, and the private lands which they intend to buy and place at the disposal of the company. If we could also, in addition, obtain from the Imperial Government a guarantee for a minimum rate of interest on the expenditure of the work, such as Lord Grey, in the despatch I have quoted, showed himself ready to give the company, as it appears to me (although that is again trenching upon the commercial part of the matter), the company would be in rather a prosperous condition, and very well able to go forward with its work.

This meeting, therefore, has to consider, and such a resolution will be proposed to this Meeting, that a deputation be requested to wait upon the Colonial Secretary to ask him to recognize such company as the company to carry out the work. If the Meeting decides upon sending such a deputation, I need hardly observe that it will be advantageous to select the very strongest names we can influence, so as to send up as good a deputation as we possibly can upon the subject.

I have already quoted Major Robinson's estimate of the total cost, and on the 20th page of this pamphlet, which is in everybody's hands, there is a very able summary, based, I have no doubt, on very good authority, of the probable pecuniary advantages which would ensue from the construction of this railway. I leave in other hands the exposition of the probable financial condition and prospects of the company.

I have ventured, in as few words as I could, to lay before you the political and physical difficulties and advantages in the way of the construction of this Railway, and I beg to conclude by calling upon the Right Hon. Sotheron Estcourt, M.P., to move the first resolution.

The Right Hon. SOTHERON ESTCOURT, M.P.—My Lord Bury and

Gentlemen,—If you, my lord, who have passed some time in Canada, and are intimately acquainted, both with the country and all those matters which concern it, have thought it necessary to make some apology for occupying the place in which I am very glad to see you, in consequence of there being present in this meeting gentlemen of known character, name, and distinction connected with Canada and Nova Scotia, much more, I am sure, have I need to offer an apology, who know of this magnificent country only by information, and from what I have read. I came into this room, my lord, to-day, not having the least idea that I should be expected to take any part in the proceedings. At the same time, since you have been so good as to desire it, I am not reluctant at all to offer such humble assistance as I can, towards putting our proceeding in course of operation, which I look upon, in a national point of view, as being of manifest advantage (hear, hear), not only to Canada, and the other parts of America, but also, I must say, to the mother-country itself. (Hear, hear.)

I will just in a few words say what it is that first gave me an interest in this matter. A dear brother of mine, a gallant officer who lost his life in the Crimea, was the officer appointed to the command of an expedition (I hardly know whether I ought to call it by that name); but, however, he superintended the drawing of that line, which is at this moment the boundary between Canada and the United States. He, of course, had nothing more to do than strictly to follow out the line, according to arrangements which had been entered into between the two countries by authorized and diplomatic agents. Therefore, whatever may be thought concerning the line itself, he was in no way responsible (hear, hear); but still, during the two years that he passed there, being in constant communication with him, I could not avoid obtaining a much more intimate knowledge of the magnificent prospects which I think surround that country; that circumstance has always made me feel a particular interest in the matter, and that really is, my lord, the chief reason of my coming here to-day.

I am not going to trouble this Meeting with offering, from my total absence of experience and my only crude information, any suggestions which I could hope to be of any real value, but I will just say this: it seems to me that, as matters now stand, there is for half a year an absolute separation between the three provinces of New Brunswick, Nova Scotia, and Canada. (Hear, hear.) Now that that is of some importance in times of difficulty, I bear in mind a recollection which I think is a proof. At the time when what was called the rebellion in Canada broke out, I was well acquainted with the movements of the 43rd Regiment. That regiment was stationed on the seaboard of New Brunswick; it was of the greatest importance that all succour that could be afforded should be marched with every rapidity that was possible to the places where operations were going on in Canada. That regiment made a most magnificent and difficult passage through the midst of the country, which had

scarcely been explored before they cut their way through—in short, it was one of the most brilliant operations, which is as deserving to be recorded by a historian as the famous expedition of Cyrus, which was so fortunate as to receive a place in history, and an historian in Xenophon; it was something that could not fail to make an impression upon a non-military as well as a military mind. I know it did upon mine. They took, if I am not mistaken, pretty nearly the course along which you propose to carry this railway; they underwent great difficulties; they could not avoid leaving behind them a great many of those accessories which were, in fact, indispensable to the full development of the power they had to bring to bear upon the scene of action. All that could be done was done in their personal and individual capacity—they contrived to make their way through the forests. Now, if there had been then such a railway as you are proposing to establish, instead of its being an operation of difficulty, it would have been one of great facility; instead of cutting their way through at a slow rate, which still was very creditable to them, for they did it at twenty miles a day, they would have been wafted within twenty-four hours from Halifax to Quebec, and thus have produced, by the rapidity of communication, an impression that would have more than doubled any amount of imperial force that might have been brought.

My lord, with regard to the mode in which this Meeting should proceed, I beg to say, and it is hardly necessary for me to do so, that I attend here only as a private individual member of Parliament; it is not in my power to state anything here on the part of the Government, of which I am a very humble member, and cannot certainly in any way venture to take upon myself to say what their views will be; but having taken part in similar operations before, it seems to me that the course you have delineated is very much the sort of course that it would be prudent for us, as well-wishers of the cause, to adopt, which would be likely to make an impression; and, really, if there is to be any confidence placed in these figures, I do not think you will be calling upon the Government to incur any prodigious risk. (Hear, hear.) I must say, I think that the cause is one of such great importance, since it would enable us during one-half of the year, during which at present communication is totally intercepted, to establish, by means of a railway, facilities of conveyance and communication between these three provinces. That in a national point of view you might fairly ask of the Government to make some pecuniary sacrifice, in order to achieve it (hear, hear); but it seems to me, also, if these figures have any weight, you might go to the Government and say, you gain this great imperial advantage without any risk at all, (Hear, hear.)

Now, my lord, I will leave it to those who are far abler than I am myself to enter into the details, and I only beg leave to move the resolution which has been put into my hands, in every word of which I must say for myself I not only cordially concur, but I cannot doubt that every person who knows anything of what is likely to be

beneficial to our colonial interests and the imperial interests of Great Britain will be certain to concur.

Captain the Hon. JOHN VIVIAN, M.P.—My Lord Bury and Gentlemen,—It was only five minutes before I came into this room that I had any knowledge of the Meeting that was about to take place, or its object; but, however, as I happened to be in Canada at a very interesting period of the fortunes of that colony, I hope I shall not be thought intruding if I refer for one moment to the practical advantages that would be derived from such a line of railway as that which is now proposed. My right honourable friend has alluded to a circumstance with which I was connected. I happened to have marched with the 43rd regiment on the occasion he referred to. (Hear, hear, and applause.) I was on the staff of the Governor-General, Lord Gosford, at the time when the Canadian rebellion broke out. The rebels were clever enough to take care that their proceedings should not come to light until after the first snow had fallen, when the roads were thought impracticable; it was unfortunately at that time that there was but a comparatively small portion of troops in the two Canadas. I think, if I recollect right, two regiments at Quebec and two at Montreal. Sir John Colborne, who was in command of the troops, was anxious for the result. The rebels were in great force. Down the whole bank of the St. Lawrence, from Quebec to Montreal and upwards, they were in a state of rebellion, and there were great doubts as to whether the rebellion had not spread lower down the banks. Lord Gosford was anxious for reinforcements, and sent to New Brunswick for the 43rd, and to Halifax for the 83rd, and I was sent down by the Governor-General to feel the pulse of the people on the banks of the St. Lawrence, to see whether there was any risk in the 43rd being stopped in their march upwards, and in one or two villages where it was thought there was a strong feeling against them. There was one part in particular, where the road passage was excessively narrow, and there was great danger in case the troops should be there stopped; and, as my right honourable friend said, the march of the 43rd was, perhaps, one of the most extraordinary that ever was made by a regiment. For two days they marched in snow-shoes, with relieving men in front six abreast, to beat the way for the rest of the regiment; and much to the credit of the colonel, be it said, notwithstanding the great difficulties they had to contend with, they marched on without leaving one single man behind them. (Hear, hear, and applause.) There was not a misfortune of any kind—there was not a man drunk upon the march, and there was not a man left behind on the march; but the danger and difficulty that those two regiments had to contend with were extraordinary, and the length of time that they took to complete the march was of very serious consequence at that moment. Now, if there had been a railway, as my honourable friend has stated in a strategical point of view, it would have been of great importance; and the only thing that surprises me is, that, considering the necessity of the communication between these three

great countries of Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, and Canada, so many years should be permitted to have elapsed since they came into our possession without any suggestion of this sort being brought before the public. (Hear, hear.)

The CHAIRMAN,—It has been moved by the Right Hon. S. Estcourt, M.P., and seconded by Capt. the Hon. John Vivian, M.P. :—

“ THAT the extraordinary advance which has been made within the last few years in the trade and population of the British North American colonies renders it imperatively necessary that Great Britain should no longer be dependent upon the United States for railway communication with these important colonies especially, when a cheaper and more expeditious route can be obtained through the British possessions.

The resolution was put to the meeting and carried unanimously. (Applause.)

The Hon. Sir ALLAN NAPIER McNAB, Baronet.—My Lord Bury and Gentlemen,—I have been requested to move the following resolution. I have great pleasure in doing so, because, as you may naturally infer, I feel a deep interest in everything connected with the British North-American provinces, and particularly with regard to Canada. So much has been already said, and well said, by the noble chairman and the hon. gentlemen who have preceded me, that very little indeed remains for me to say. I shall not therefore trespass long upon your time, but I think I may venture to assure this meeting that, from my connection with Canada for a great many years in different capacities, I am in a position to answer any question that may be put to me with respect to it. The time has certainly arrived when we should no longer be dependent upon a foreign power for access to the ocean at all seasons of the year, and for our communication with the mother country. The prosperity of Canada, and particularly of Western Canada, formerly called Upper Canada, has no parallel on the continent of America. I believe this has been the language of some of the most distinguished statesmen in the neighbouring republic, and in proof of which I would mention the following facts :—

In 1824, there was but one steamer on Lake Ontario; we have now not less than fifty large steamers. We had not then a railway, a canal, nor even a macadamized road in the province; whereas now we have three canals, the Welland canal (connecting Lake Ontario with Lake Erie), the St. Lawrence canal, and the Rideau canal, perfecting the water communication between Kingston and Montreal. The last was built by the British government at a cost of upwards of a million, and, with that national generosity which characterizes this country, was given to the province; the Welland canal, the importance of which cannot be too highly estimated, was built through the great energy and perseverance of the Hon. Wm. H. Merrit, a member of our legislature for the last five-and-twenty

years. We have now macadamized and plank roads, and railways in every part of the country; upwards of £20,000,000 sterling has been expended upon railways in that country. The Great Western Railway, which connects the head of Lake Ontario with the foot of Lake Huron, is now completed, and may be considered one of the best paying lines on the continent, unless, indeed, they allow a rival line to be built under the control of other parties, which, now that it has been sanctioned by the Government, they ought to build themselves. From the termination of the Great Western at Toronto, the Grand Trunk is now finished to Quebec. You have, therefore, a perfect communication both by land and water to Quebec, and what we now require is, that the rail should be continued to Halifax, which will give us at all seasons of the year access to the ocean, without being compelled to go through a foreign country; and this contemplated railway will accomplish that desirable object, and as a consequence, will be a most valuable feeder to the Grand Trunk now constructed to Quebec.

The people of the colonies have done all that could be expected of them. The province of Canada has given £20,000 a year, and all the land necessary for the railway, and they have also given ten miles on either side of the track. The provinces of New Brunswick and Nova Scotia have done the same, and you learn by the report just read by the Chairman that this railway is estimated to cost about £3,000,000. You will therefore have money sufficient to pay the interest on more than one-third of the amount, and a grant of land that will, in my opinion, shortly realize all the money required. You cannot expect the colonies to do more than they have done, and surely the Government of this country ought to be prepared to give them the assistance they require.

My friend Mr. Cunard, who sits on the other side of the table, will tell you that the port of Halifax is one of the finest ports in the world, that the communication between Halifax and Quebec will not occupy more than twenty-four hours, and that a large portion of the land is good and will be available after the completion of the railway. The exports and imports of Canada alone are now about £20,000,000.

I am happy in being able to tell this Meeting that a good feeling now exists among all parties in Canada. No doubt we have had great political differences, but by common consent we may consider all the great questions which have agitated the public mind for years past have been settled, and the country is now subsiding into that peaceful, happy state which I hope may long continue; for I believe British America to be one of the brightest jewels in the British crown, and I trust that good feeling and attachment to this country which now exists may ever continue, and my fervent wish is that the British provinces in America may ever remain an integral portion of this noble empire. (Hear, hear, and applause.)

Mr. NISSET, M.P.—My Lord Bury and Gentlemen—I ought perhaps to make some apology for presenting myself on this occa-

sion ; but having been requested to second this resolution, I venture to do so. Local knowledge of Canada I have none ; yet, having read this book, I feel I need not hesitate in gladly seconding this resolution ; for I see it says, “ Quebec, during six months of the year, has no outlet to the sea, being closed by ice, and communication with England, and with the important provinces of Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, is in consequence carried through the United States.” This alone shows how very necessary the railway is. But I see it says further,—“ The United States has one vast network of railways, extending from the shores of the Atlantic almost to the Rocky Mountains, and from the banks of the Missouri and Mississippi to the shores of the great lakes of the St. Lawrence. She could in the course of three days concentrate an army on the Canadian frontier ; and, if this should ever occur in the winter, she could lay siege to Quebec without the possibility of our transporting troops to its relief.” This is quite sufficient to convince me, and I should think everybody else, that the proposed railway is, in a military and physical point of view, of immense importance. I have therefore great pleasure in seconding the resolution, and only wish I could furnish some information on the subject.

THE CHAIRMAN.—It has been moved by the Honourable Sir Allan McNab, Bart., and seconded by R. P. Nisbet, Esq., M.P. :—

“ That the importance of a line of railway from Halifax to Quebec in a national point of view having been repeatedly acknowledged by the Imperial Governments and by the Legislatures of the various colonies through which the said line of railway is intended to pass, it is desirable that measures be forthwith adopted to carry out the views expressed by such high authority.”

LORD GODERICH.—My Lord Bury and Gentlemen—As I shall be obliged to leave this Meeting in a few moments, you will perhaps allow me to say one or two words, feeling, as I do, a very deep interest in all that concerns the colonies of England. I was very happy to avail myself of your invitation to attend this Meeting to-day ; but, as I told you then, and stated to other gentlemen in the room, I came here more as a learner than in any other capacity. Before I go I am anxious to state, that all that I have heard has convinced me that the assertions contained in those two resolutions that have just been moved and carried are fully borne out, as far as I am able to judge of the matter. There can be no doubt of the great importance to the colonies, and of the great importance to the mother-country, of such a railway as is proposed to be made. For my own part, with regard to the other resolutions, I am not a great friend in the abstract to Government guarantees or Government assistance to Railways. I am always more glad to see undertakings of this kind carried out by the unassisted efforts of capitalists. But I can understand that a work of this description, which may be truly called a national work, tending to bind together three colonies, and to confer great and manifest advantages upon the mother country,

may require some assistance of that description. (Hear, hear.) In the present state of my information, I do not pledge myself to what is the proper course to pursue in that respect; but if you determine, as no doubt you will, to have a deputation to the Colonial Secretary upon the subject, I shall be happy to attend, and to further your endeavours. I am only sorry that I am obliged to go away now.

The resolution was put to the Meeting, and carried unanimously.

The CHAIRMAN.—The Honourable Samuel Cunard will move the third resolution.

The Hon. S. CUNARD.—My Lord and Gentlemen, I do not think it is necessary for me to say much to you upon the subject, as I think you have pointed out yourselves the proper course to be adopted. I think that a committee should be appointed to wait upon the Government, and I think the Government are fully sensible of the importance of this measure. I have had a great deal to do with it myself. I had managed with Lord Grey at one time to carry it out, and the Government were very much disposed to come forward, and to do anything almost that was required, they knowing the importance of the measure. (Hear, hear.) Anybody who knows Halifax will admit it is one of the first harbours in the world, and that a railway there would be a link which would connect together the three provinces of Canada, New Brunswick, and Nova Scotia, and without that connecting link they are completely separated. It is something remarkable that for six months of the year there is no access to Quebec, and neither is there any outlet from Quebec. If you have, in a Government point of view, troops in Halifax, you can send them wherever they are required. If you wish to take them from Canada, you can take them down to Halifax. Last year I had to bring troops from Quebec to Halifax, when they were wanted in the Crimea, and I could not do it for want of proper communication. I want to show the importance of the railway not existing at that time, and what I could have done with it. I pointed out to the Government that they could do with three regiments less in Canada by means of this railway than they could do without it. I did not at that time think that they would find it necessary to bring troops from Canada to assist in other parts of the world where we might want them. I think the Government would be glad to aid and assist this as a great national undertaking, and as measure of very great importance. I think the Chairman has pointed out that a deputation should wait upon the Government, and I think it would not wait upon them in vain. I think they would not only get the countenance of the Government, but they would get as large an annual sum of money as the provinces are willing to give for the advantages the Government would receive from it. The Government would receive much greater advantages than the provinces by the sum they would give. The Government did propose to allow me a very large sum of money annually, and also to guarantee the pay-

ment of a loan in this country, at a low rate of interest, which we could now get and could have got at that time; and the sum the provinces were to pay and the sum the Government were to pay would meet the interest altogether, so that they could go on and work the railway by that means. (Hear, hear.)

I do not think it necessary to occupy more of your time than I have done—it is a great measure and of importance both to the colonies and to the country at large.

Colonel BOLDERO, M.P.—My Lord and Gentlemen, I attend here to-day, feeling a strong desire to give any humble assistance I can in carrying out an undertaking of such importance as this is (Hear, hear); and I must confess, although I had a strong feeling when I entered the room, it has been greatly increased by what I have heard. Now, your lordship's speech and those of the gentlemen who have followed, have made a more powerful impression upon me, as showing the necessity of it, than I had when I entered this room. I am greatly astonished by the speech of the honourable member (Sir. A. Macnab) at the magnitude of the exports and imports of that country. I was in Halifax myself two or three years, carrying on important works, building forts and barracks for the Government; and of course I could not exist and mix with the inhabitants of Halifax, without conversing with commercial men and getting some knowledge of what was the nature of your trade with that country. (Hear, hear.) I observe now with the greatest pleasure, not only from what has been stated in this room, but what I have seen from public despatches, that your trade increases in proportion far beyond what I thought it would have done in the time. My lord, I think you are quite right in recommending the subscribers to this great work to ask for an interview with the Government. I think you are quite right in asking them to give you advantages and privileges the same as they have done to others of their colonies; and there is a strong reason why they should do it, because the Colonial Parliaments have sanctioned, I think, very extensive support to it. Now, the point which has been prominently put forward is very important, of giving in breadth ten miles on each side of the line in a country well adapted for colonization, and a country well adapted for being the means of large productions of every kind, increasing naturally the trade carrying capital away from this country. It is of the utmost importance to the home Government that they should encourage emigration. I think the encouragement given by British North-American colonies for emigration to the colonies is such as to tempt families perhaps of a very different description to what we have hitherto had. (Hear, hear.) I had no intention of taking a part in the proceedings of this Meeting, and therefore you will excuse anything in which I have been remiss; but I cordially support this resolution, and look upon it in a commercial, political, and military sense, to be an object worthy the consideration of her Majesty's Government. (Hear, hear.)

The CHAIRMAN.—It has been moved by the Hon. Samuel Cunard, and seconded by Colonel Boldero, M.P. :—

“That, in the opinion of this meeting, the Halifax and Quebec Railway will afford a safe and profitable means of investment for a large amount of unemployed capital in the United Kingdom, provided that the Imperial Government be willing to confer upon the subscribers such privileges and advantages as are commensurate with the importance of this great national undertaking, and with the advantages already accorded by the Colonial Governments.”

The resolution was put to the Meeting, and carried unanimously.

The CHAIRMAN.—The Hon. Charles Fitzwilliam, M.P., will now move the fourth resolution.

The Hon. CHARLES FITZWILLIAM, M.P.—My Lord and Gentlemen,—I am very glad to avail myself of this opportunity of showing what interest I take in everything that concerns her Majesty's dominions in North America, and more particularly am I anxious to do all in my power to further the completion of a communication from Halifax, the most important seaport on the coast of North America, with the more central portions of her dominions, because I think that is only the commencing link which will connect the Atlantic Ocean with the Pacific (Hear, hear)—an object which I think every person ought to have in view who wishes to keep her Majesty's dominions in their utmost integrity. On the Pacific, we are fortunate enough to possess the most important harbours on the whole ocean. I think I may safely say that. (Hear, hear.) The harbour of Esquimaux on Vancouver's Island is, I believe, the finest in the world; and along the whole coast, from there to Valparaiso, you will hardly find a safe and convenient harbour. Even the harbour of St. Francisco is so excessively large that it cannot be said to be safe at all times. Great opposition has been made to any communication between the east and west, but I think, from the last report which we have had of the riches of that country, those efforts to frustrate any undertaking to communicate with the two sides of the continent would be futile.

Besides that, the country through which I should propose to make a railway from Lake Superior to Puget's Sound, is exceedingly rich as an agricultural country. The knowledge that we have lately had of the enormous discovery of gold on the banks of Thompson's and Frazer's River, will naturally induce people to flock to that country; and in no way would they be better able to arrive at the acquisition of wealth than by some communication between Lake Superior and the west. Of course we shall have to wait some time for that; but I think the commencing link will be this railway from Halifax to Quebec. I have, therefore, the greatest pleasure in proposing this resolution, for I really think “That it is advisable that application be forthwith be made to her Majesty's Government upon the subject of the proposed railway from Halifax to Quebec, with a view to ascertain what encouragement and assistance they are

prepared to afford to the promoters of the undertaking." I think that the completion of such a scheme has been delayed too long.

Mr. WYLD, M.P. — My Lord Bury and Gentlemen,—I must confess I feel a very great privilege in being allowed to take part in to-day's proceedings; for, although the matter has been before me as a matter of theory for some time, yet I now think that this great and important project under your lordship's auspices, and by the assistance of gentlemen round the table, will, I have no doubt, be carried to a successful issue, because it seems to me that the Grand Trunk Railway wants a terminus to the sea. Sir Allan Macnab has stated that some portions of the Grand Trunk Railway do not at this moment yield an ample return. Why is it? Because you are compelled to pass through a portion of the United States, or to use the waters of St. Lawrence, for a portion of your trade. That river, during a certain portion of the year, is completely closed, and trade is entirely excluded.

Now, my lord, you want this railway as a terminus upon your sea-board; and I have watched the observations that have fallen from the different hon. gentlemen who have addressed your lordship to-day, and I find all have abstained from pointing out what are the great commercial and paying advantages of this line to Nova Scotia itself. I have some acquaintance with that country, and I know its vast mineral riches, its forests, its mines, both of coal and iron-stone, and other materials, which, I feel assured, in itself would yield a very ample return for the capital that might be outlaid upon it. (Hear, hear.) Your lordship has spoken of the matter in a military point of view, which is an important one no doubt; but I am a man of peace, and I look upon this railway as perhaps one of the most important links in our communications, not for the purpose of war, but for the purpose of cementing us eternally in the bonds of peace, not only with Canada, but with the United States; for what has been our position with the United States? We have been absolutely dependent for our communications, for a large portion of the year, upon the railway communication with the United States; but this railway will give us an independent communication, and I have not the slightest doubt will in itself yield a very ample return for the capital that will be outlaid upon it. Now, the resolution that I am to speak to is, "That it is advisable that an application be made forthwith to her Majesty's Government." From the tenor of the letter of Lord Grey of March 10th, 1851, I think we have a right to go to her Majesty's Government and ask them to carry out the promise made by Lord Grey in that letter, for, although the *personnel* of the Government has changed since that time, yet I think the policy of her Majesty's present Government should not change. I think that the promise contained in Lord Grey's letter is such, that at this moment if an organization is made to carry out this railway, we have a right to ask the present occupant of the Colonial Office to carry out the terms contained in Lord Grey's letter of the 10th of March, 1851.

The Honourable S. CUNARD.—You will not ask in vain.

Mr. WYLD, M.P.—And I have no doubt, as my hon. friend says, we shall not ask in vain. The communication between this country and Canada has not been so extensively developed to the extent it ought to have been. When this line is completed it will not only open the whole Canadian communication, but you will be enabled to pay interest at no very far distant period from the return which will be made for the outlaid capital, not only by the Government grants, but by the working of the railway itself; and you will so far extend your railway system to the ports of New Brunswick and Nova Scotia, that your port at Halifax will not simply be a port for the Canadian produce, but will be the port for the vast Atlantic sea-board also; and all those who have studied the subject will know the vast and important trade that will be carried on with the Pacific through that line, which can be constructed very cheaply and economically; and then we shall have a link of communication from Lake Superior to the Pacific, and that day is not very far distant. (Hear, hear.) The present advantages offered to this railway are an ample compensation for the capital required, looking at it, not only in a military, but in a commercial point of view. I speak to the commercial point of view particularly, and any assistance that I can render your lordship, I shall be most happy to place at your disposal; and I believe we shall only have to ask Government in order to get their consent.

The CHAIRMAN.—It has been moved by the Honourable Charles Fitzwilliam, M.P., and seconded by Mr. Wyld, M.P.

"That it is advisable that application be forthwith made to her Majesty's Government upon the subject of the proposed Railway from Halifax to Quebec, with a view to ascertain what arrangement and assistance they are prepared to afford to the promoters of the undertaking."

The Resolution was put to the Meeting and carried unanimously.

The CHAIRMAN.—I shall have now to call upon the Hon. Justice Haliburton to move the 5th Resolution.

The Hon. Justice HALIBURTON.—My Lord and Gentlemen, I was not aware until I entered this room what the precise object of the Meeting was, or that I should be called upon to take any part in it; and I regret that the more, because as I have spoken and written more frequently upon the subject of the colonial communications than most men, I have committed to paper at various times certain facts, which, if I had known that I should have addressed you, I should have been glad to have put into a condensed form and laid before this Meeting. (Hear, hear.) "But he who trusts to paper generally injures his memory," and therefore I cannot call figures to mind just at this moment; but I will mention one or two circumstances which will show you the importance of this object, as well as one or two historical facts connected with it.

In the first place we are totally dependent upon the United States for the transmission of the English mails to Canada; we

have to carry them by the magnificent line of steamers of Mr. Cunard, either to Boston, and then send them up to the province of Canada, or by that equally magnificent line of his to New York, and send them thence to Canada, through the States. (Applause.)

Now, those who have as much knowledge of the Americans as I have, I believe will be constrained to say that they are either not able to carry out their treaties, or that they are not willing to do so; but whether they carry them out or whether they fail to do so, it is always accompanied with very great impertinence and insolence. (Laughter.) Now, in the present postal arrangement between this country and the United States there is a clause, granting permission for the mails to travel through their country, and a very large sum of money is paid for it. But that arrangement is terminable at a very short notice. I think it is a month or six weeks, and the consequence of that clause is, that when the Collins's line was put on, they wanted to have all the English letters sent by their ships, and when the demand was refused, notice was given to terminate the treaty, which caused the greatest confusion and alarm to the mercantile world: for you could not get a letter except through the United States without infinite delay. Now I have lived I will not say the greater part of my life, but all my life in Nova Scotia, and am a native of the country. Quebec is practically as far distant to me, and infinitely more difficult to get at, than Dresden is from here. (Hear, hear.) I can go to Dresden with a good deal more comfort and a vast deal more ease than I can go from Halifax to Quebec, and I believe a great deal cheaper. I have got, in the first place, to ship on board one of Mr. Cunard's vessels and to go to Boston, and perhaps I have to wait a fortnight for the arrival of his steamer. Then I have to go through that very conciliatory country and polite people, the Yankees, until I can get up to the border, and then I have to go to such a point in Canada as I want to go to. You heard about those troops, that were sent to Canada from Halifax in the winter. I recollect it well, for I was riding on horseback on the Halifax road at the time these men were coming up. It was in the month of December—the month of December at Halifax and the month of December at Quebec are two very different things. It is something like the Polar Sea at Quebec; it is very cold at Halifax, but God knows how much colder it is at Quebec—it would take the hair off a man's head. The march of those troops was, even by the people of that country, who understand the use of the snow-shoes and all that sort of thing, thought a most marvellous undertaking.

MR. CUNARD.—It was.

THE HONOURABLE JUSTICE HALIBURTON.—And it was thought a most marvellous undertaking, even by the colonists themselves, and I believe the commissariat officer's name was Inglis, who was a colonist, and therefore had a knowledge of these modes of conveying troops which an English commissariat officer would not have. He was a host in himself; and there would have been very different work in the Crimea if he had lived to have gone there. The St. Lawrence

is closed for a great part of the year, and a road through the wilderness does not exist. To send or withdraw troops at all times, to forward warlike stores or militia to assailed or assailable points, is of the first importance—where means of transport exist to the sea, the military force may be reduced greatly, in eleven days troops can reach Canada from England—weakness invites attack. Now, Halifax is situate at the nearest point to England in America. Most of you, gentlemen, have been there. It is the most magnificent harbour in the world. It is not only one harbour, but it is a double harbour. After you go up about ten miles of magnificent harbour, you pass through a small narrow passage of about 1,100 to 1,200 feet—perhaps not so much—and then you get up to Bedford Harbour, which is the best, if there can be two bests.

Mr. CUNARD.—Halifax is the best, and the other is the better.

The Honourable Justice HALIBURTON.—That is, that Halifax is a double first. It is an extraordinary fact, and difficult to account for, that the harbour of Halifax is only once in many years frozen over, and the further south you go upon that continent the oftener the harbours are frozen over. For instance, if you go further south to Boston, it is twice as often frozen over as Halifax.

Mr. CUNARD.—I have been twenty years with steamers, and have not been kept out of Halifax once, but I have out of Boston many times.

The Honourable Justice HALIBURTON.—During the winter, a few years ago, there were a hundred vessels frozen up in Charleston, South Carolina, and had to stop there six weeks at a time; but that does not often occur. If you go north of Halifax, then it is entirely closed. But I have no doubt that the magnificent harbour of Halifax was intended for this railway.

Mr. CUNARD.—Nothing happens by accident.

The Honourable Justice HALIBURTON.—No doubt Providence intended this, for this particular object. (A laugh.)

Now, I will just mention one thing that has been omitted. When it was first started, it was considered a monstrous undertaking and alarmed everybody, because you were to begin at Halifax and run to Quebec. But the distance is lessened at both ends now. Nova Scotia has already made its railway from Halifax very near to the New Brunswick border. Canada has done the same thing; it has run down the St. Lawrence as far as Trois Pistoles, and I believe is willing to do what lies within its own border; but there is a large piece of vacant ground between Nova Scotia and Canada, lying in New Brunswick. They have not anybody who seems to take any interest in that which is the key to the whole. When you come to consider with reference to this particular resolution that you are at the mercy of the Americans for your postal communication; that you have not a road from these Lower Provinces, that they are totally detached, that they are unconnected, that there are five sets of laws in consequence of their being in that way, that there is no general public feeling got up amongst them, it is manifestly an object

of the first importance to unite them. I think the Government ought to take into consideration another view, which is, that in all the possessions of England in the wide world (where the sun never sets upon her possessions) and especially on the American continent, if there are loyal subjects it is in British North America, and they have lately given a proof of it (Hear, hear), for a regiment has been formed, and it is not only now offered, but it has been offered and rather superciliously rejected on one or two occasions before, but at this time they could not well refuse it, because they could not do without it, and if the regiment does not give a good account of itself, I shall be greatly mistaken. They sent General Inglis to defend Lucknow and General Williams to defend Kars, and also sent the Admiral who brought the Yankee Chesapeake into Halifax (laughter), who was also a native of our country; and it sent to the Redan some of the very first victims who fell there. Therefore, I think, in considering this:—it is a truly English possession—that it is larger than all Europe—it is connected with the East, and it is of importance in every way, I should certainly think it a very extraordinary thing if the Government does not, at all events, give a guarantee. *British America is the only possession we have where the climate suits European constitutions; in this respect it is far before the States, as is evinced in the health, vigour, and stature of the population.*

Now, as to the pledge given by Lord Grey there has been some dispute, which I do not enter into now. I do not know who is right or who is wrong. One of the delegates who came from the colonies, asserts that a guarantee was given, which I believe is denied on the other side, but if that guarantee at that time had been given, this railway would have been made, because the money then could have been borrowed upon an imperial guarantee at $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent., when it could not be from a provincial government at 6 per cent.; therefore it makes a difference of one half of the expense of the whole undertaking, and an important measure that is unquestionably.

Now, I will just look at the map for one moment. Part of the Nova Scotia Railway is finished, Canada is completing one to Trois Pistoles; it is only that part through New Brunswick now required, and New Brunswick is very anxious to go on with it. I may state that there have been some negotiations which have not been mentioned here. Lately there were delegates from Canada here, from New Brunswick, and from Nova Scotia, who had an interview with the Right Honourable Mr. Labouchere. What the result of that was I do not know. I look upon everything connected with the Colonial Office with such utter despair and hopelessness, that I am really quite discouraged. I hardly read, talk, or have any intercourse with anybody about the subject, when you have got such sleepy officials in Downing Street,—when they get men in that office, not one of whom ever saw a colony, and one of whom spelt it even with two n's. Happily, at the same time, there is a change coming over the legislature. People are obliged to be civil in these

times of change of Governments, and they are uncommonly polite to what they used to be, and perhaps we may get an agreeable answer to our application.

The CHAIRMAN.—Mr. Neeld, M.P., will second the resolution.

Mr. NEELD, M.P.—My Lord and Gentlemen,—I will not detain your time for more than one minute. I came here merely to evince by my presence the very great interest I take in this undertaking. My knowledge is confined entirely to what is contained in this yellow book and the map which is before me, with the addition of the observations and information that I have derived from the speeches to-day, and I can only say that I have the very greatest satisfaction in acting with those gentlemen, who think with me that the carrying out of this railway will be of the greatest advantage to the colony. I have, therefore, great satisfaction in seconding this resolution. I conceive that the best mode of bringing this before the Government, will be that a deputation should wait on the Colonial Secretary and place the matter before him, and then we shall proceed in the usual way.

The CHAIRMAN.—It has been moved by the Honourable Justice Haliburton, and seconded by Mr. Neeld, M.P.,

“That the undermentioned noblemen and gentlemen, together with such others as may wish to unite them, agree to form a deputation for the purpose of applying to her Majesty's Government upon the subject of the proposed railway from Halifax to Quebec, and that the Chairman be requested to ascertain when her Majesty's Secretary of State for the Colonies will be prepared to receive the deputation, and to communicate the result to them.”

The resolution was put to the Meeting and carried unanimously.

The Hon. Justice HALIBURTON.—There is one thing, perhaps, which every person is not aware of, and that is, the line of internal navigation in Canada, from the mouth of St. Lawrence to the head of Lake Superior, is longer than it is from Liverpool to New York.

The CHAIRMAN.—We have now carried this resolution, “That the undermentioned noblemen and gentlemen be requested to form a deputation;” but there are no undermentioned noblemen and gentlemen, and I wish to put it to the Meeting how these noblemen and gentlemen are to be appointed. Perhaps some gentleman will suggest a better course than I can. It might be left to some of the gentlemen who are interested in the undertaking to get their names attached.

Mr. NEELD, M.P.—That would be the best way.

Sir ALLAN MACNAB.—Perhaps it will be as well to delegate the power to the Chairman and such gentlemen as may assist him in promoting the undertaking.

The CHAIRMAN.—I may state that Lord Goderich, M.P.; the Hon. John Vivian, M.P.; Mr. Headlam, M.P.; Mr. George Grenfell Glyn, M.P.; Mr. Ackroyd, M.P.; Mr. Collins, M.P.; Mr. Samuel Gurney, M.P.; Mr. Terrell, Mr. Cummins, and Mr.

Schneider, M.P., signify their concurrence in the objects of the Meeting, and are willing to form part of the deputation.

Mr. WYLD, M.P.—We had better add our own names who are present.

The CHAIRMAN.—Yes; and perhaps it might be as well to mention that in all probability the Company will be registered under the Limited Liability Act before we proceed with the deputation to the Colonial Secretary; because, when we wait upon the Colonial Secretary, he will very naturally say, "Gentlemen, whom am I dealing with? And I to put you in possession of a large sum, and a quantity of Crown land—whom am I to give it to?" If we could go to him, and say, "Here are seven gentlemen (I believe under the Limited Liability Act seven gentlemen may register themselves into an association); these are the persons you are to deal with;" if those gentlemen carried great weight with their names and distinction, independently of others, no doubt the Colonial Secretary would be perfectly ready to listen to what we had to say, and so any gentlemen who wishes to put down his name now can do so.

The Honourable S. CUNARD.—My Lord—I think when you go to the Colonial Minister you will find he will be disposed to listen to anything you propose in this tangible form. It is upon the plan I suggested to the Government, and which they were willing to adopt; we should be enabled to get a guarantee upon the best terms, because the money from the colonies was to be paid here; we had nothing to do with the colonies, and I propose that we should have nothing to do with the colonies; that the £20,000 from each of the colonies should be paid to the British Government. These sums together will be quite sufficient to pay the interest on the guarantee of the Government, therefore you could not lose anything. The first question Lord Grey asked me was, "What do you mean to do for the Government?" I said, "Do! I will soon tell you what I will do." I said "I will save you three regiments. Canada will do with three regiments less, having them brought as you want. I am perfectly willing," I said, "to carry your troops up free." They were willing to give me a certain consideration, and therefore the sum from the three colonies and the Government will be sufficient to meet the interest of the whole sum to be expended on this railway. Therefore everybody who comes forward to subscribe will be sure to get their interest. There will be interest paid to all the subscribers, so that anything that you get beyond that will be profit.

Mr. WYLD, M.P.—Was this a late conversation, or some time ago?

The Hon. S. CUNARD.—It took place only a few years ago. It was so far arranged that they were anxious to do it.

Mr. WYLD, M.P.—Do you think they still remain of the same opinion.

The Hon. S. CUNARD.—I am sure they do. I know the present head of the Colonial Office was of that opinion, and I am sure they will carry it out. How I came to give it up was, that some person

came home which interrupted it. This was a plan of my own. All this took place before Colonel Robinson revived it. This gentleman was an old acquaintance of mine; he was commanding at Portsmouth, and he took great pleasure in pointing out to me that there were no great engineering difficulties in the way. That was one important thing I got done. I had got everything arranged so far that when Parliament adjourned on the 12th of August, I asked Lord Grey to write a letter to the different Colonial Governments, to ask them to confer special assistance to carry this out, and I was going to carry out an Act, framed by the Attorney-General here, to be in conformity with those of the different provinces, and Lord Grey said it was a very good thing, and they were wishing it was done; and he said although he was willing to accede to it, yet he was going further than he thought he was justified. Soon after a delegate came home from the provinces, who was duly authorized by the Provincial Government to carry on the Nova Scotia road, and I was very glad to back it. That delegate and Lord Grey had a quarrel. Afterwards they made up their quarrel, and then they had a quarrel again. That was just the way it stood; otherwise, if I had remained and felt anxious to carry it out, I am quite sure long before this the railroad would have been completed. I am sure you will get from the Government and the different provinces quite sufficient to pay the whole interest.

Mr. ROCHE.—My Lord Bury and Gentlemen,—You will perhaps allow me to mention one circumstance which came under my observation, which shows in a very remarkable manner the impolicy of allowing our communications with the Atlantic to be dependent upon a foreign power. During the late war, and at one of the most critical periods of that war, the British Government were desirous of removing from Quebec to Halifax the large munitions that they had in store; and a question was put to the law officers of the Crown of this country, if the munitions were carried along the railway from Quebec to Portland to be embarked, it could be done without giving offence to the United States. The law officers of the Crown having pending before them the question of the Foreign Enlistment, gave it as their opinion that it would be a violation of the international law of the United States; that we should get into another complication; and the consequence was, that these stores were carried, in the depth of winter, on sledges, to Halifax, and shipped to the Crimea. This is a circumstance showing the grounds on which we should not be dependent upon a foreign power. (Hear, hear.)

It was moved by the Hon. Sir Allan McNab, and seconded by the Hon. Charles Fitzwilliam, M.P., "that the Chairman do vacate the chair," which was carried unanimously.

THE HONOURABLE MR. CUNARD IN THE CHAIR.

Mr. NEELD, M.P.—Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen,—I have the honour of asking you to record with me a vote of thanks to the noble lord who has occupied the chair with such great ability, and

who has with so much clearness expressed the views of this Meeting, and shown us the advantage which is likely to accrue from the project which we are assembled here to-day to form. I am quite sure all the gentlemen who have heard that noble lord perform the duties of that chair will agree with me that he has placed the whole of our proceedings with extreme lucidity before us. I have the greatest satisfaction, and I ask you to join with me in thanking that noble lord for the office that he has undertaken, and for performing its duties so admirably. (Applause.)

The Hon. CHARLES FITZWILLIAM, M.P.—I beg leave to second the proposition, and likewise to express my great satisfaction at the manner in which Lord Bury has presided at this Meeting. (Hear, hear.)

Carried unanimously.

Lord BURY.—Gentlemen, I am much obliged to you for your vote of thanks for my conduct in the chair. There is one thing that you will allow me to make an observation upon before we separate; it is this, that I think we had better arrange to hold a further Meeting when the time shall arrive for the Colonial Secretary to receive the deputation that has been decided upon, in order that we may know exactly what we are to say to the Colonial Secretary, so that the Meeting may put the deputation in the possession of the exact opinion that they entertain previous to their interview with the Colonial Secretary.

The Hon. Sir ALLAN MACNAB.—Will it be necessary to put that upon our proceedings? The Chairman will see the Colonial Secretary, and will after that communicate with Mr. Masterman, who will give notice to all the parties to attend here.

Lord BURY.—We must either adjourn this Meeting, or else appoint another.

The Hon. Sir ALLAN MCANAB.—Anything you please. Then let us adjourn this Meeting.

Lord BURY.—I beg leave to move that this Meeting be adjourned till we find out when the Colonial Secretary will receive the deputation.

Mr. MASTERMAN.—Notice will be sent round to every person. Adjourned.

DEPUTATION to the Right Honourable Sir EDWARD
 LYTTON BULWER-LYTTON, *Bart.*, M.P., her
 Majesty's Principal Secretary of State for the
 Colonies, on Monday, the 14th day of June, 1858.

The Deputation consisted of the following Noblemen and Gentlemen :—

Viscount BURY, M.P., *Chairman.*

Viscount GODERICH, M.P.

The Hon. Sir ALLAN N. MACNAB,
Bart.

Capt. the Hon. JOHN VIVIAN, M.P.

The Hon. C. W. W. FITZWILLIAM, M.P.

The Hon. S. CUNARD.

G. G. GLYN, Esq., M.P.

J. A. ROEBUCK, Esq., M.P.

JOHN NEELD, Esq., M.P.

R. P. NISBET, Esq., M.P.

Colonel BOLDEBO, M.P.

The Rt. Hon. SOTHERON ESTCOURT, M.P.

The Hon. F. BERKELEY, M.P.

The Hon. Justice HALIBURTON.

W. H. GORE LANGTON, Esq., M.P.

SAMUEL CHRISTY, Esq., M.P.

JAMES WYLD, Esq., M.P.

Mr. COLLINS, M.P.

Mr. NELSON.

Mr. BROTHERHOOD.

Mr. H. MASTERMAN.

Mr. STEVENS.

Mr. SEWELL.

Lord BURY.—Sir, I attend here to-day to present this influential Deputation to you, as the Chairman of Meetings which were held at the Thatched-house Tavern on last Saturday week, and also on last Saturday.

The object of the meeting is to urge upon her Majesty's Government the advisability of assisting, in some manner, the construction of a railroad between Halifax and Quebec. You, sir, are aware, from the papers which have been submitted to you, that the Governments of Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, and Canada, have each of them guaranteed £20,000 per annum towards the completion of this work, together with certain crown lands lying within each of their jurisdictions, and they engage to place at the disposal of any Com-

pany who may undertake the railway, or rather of her Majesty's Government, such private lands as may be required for making the stations and other works on the line. The conditions upon which they guarantee this to her Majesty are, that her Majesty shall, either by herself, or through the instrumentality of a private company, undertake the construction of the line. Lord Grey was very favourably disposed towards the project, and, in a despatch to Lord Elgin, dated the 14th March, 1851, he stated that her Majesty's Government would be prepared to recommend to Parliament that a minimum interest on the amount to be expended in constructing the line, should be guaranteed to them. We should like to put it to her Majesty's Government whether they would not be equally prepared to assist in this undertaking.

I need not urge upon you, sir, the extreme importance, in a political point of view, of the construction of this line; but I only allude to it now because I know that the view which will have most weight with you will, of course, be that the undertaking is great in a national and political point of view. You, of course, will not enter with such care into the circumstances whether it would be likely to be pecuniarily remunerative to the shareholders of the undertaking. I shall only allude to that part of it in order to show that her Majesty's Government will not incur any very great risk if they, in accordance with our request, guarantee the sum required for the construction of the line.

With regard to the first point, namely, the national importance, the map which I see before you will immediately show you the manner in which the communication at present takes place with Canada, and which involves a very considerable circuitous route, besides going through the territories of another power. By our proposed route you will land at Halifax, and then go from Halifax to Quebec; you will not only go through the British territory the whole way, but you will save 400 miles as regards going by steamer to Boston, and 600 miles as regards going by steamer to New York. You now have to go across the state of Maine from Boston, and from the port of New York through the state of New York, to the Canadian frontier; consequently, this our route involves not only a very great saving of time as regards the transit, but it would allow us to complete your communications through the British territory. I need only cite one instance—I am sure you are already aware of that one point to which I will avert—that during the last war, when it was desirable to convey stores which were in the arsenal of Quebec for use in the Crimea, the law officers of the crown were consulted as to the possibility of conveying these stores over the railroads of the United States; it was decided by the law officers that it would be a contravention of the neutrality laws to do so, and, in consequence of that opinion, the stores were locked up in Canada, and they were ultimately, I believe, conveyed on sleighs over the very line through which this railway will pass which we wish to undertake. *I will not advert any further to the political aspect of the matter.*

But with regard to the commercial point of view, Colonel Robinson and Major Henderson made a very valuable report, at the instance of the Imperial Government. The report of these gentlemen was very favourable, and Lord Elgin was very much in favour of the scheme they proposed. It was in consequence of their scheme that the Legislatures of Canada, New Brunswick, and Nova Scotia voted a supply, together equal to £60,000 a year. Lord Grey wrote his despatch to Lord Elgin, intimating that the Government would be prepared to guarantee a minimum rate of interest on the construction of the line. What we ask her Majesty's Government now to do is this: These Legislatures having already voted £60,000 a year to her Majesty's Government, and certain crown lands—that her Majesty's Government would consent to propose to Parliament to guarantee us an equal sum of £60,000 a year, together with the £60,000 a year that has been voted by these colonies, and the crown lands they have voted. That would form a guarantee equal to £4 per cent. on the estimated amount of the capital to be expended, which is £3,000,000 sterling.

Sir E. BULWER-LYTTON.—I think it is estimated, in some of the papers I have seen, at £5,000,000.

The Hon. Mr. Justice HALIBURTON.—The reason of that is this: The original estimate included the province of Nova Scotia, which railway is now nearly completed through half the length of that province; and also the estimate of a certain portion on the banks of the St. Lawrence, in the province of Canada, which is already in process of completion from Quebec to Trois Pistoles; and therefore it merely leaves the part from thence through New Brunswick to the borders of Nova Scotia to be constructed.

Lord BURY.—These amounts will make £120,000 a year guaranteed by her Majesty's Government, for which they will have as assets £60,000 a year guaranteed by the Legislatures of Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, and Canada, and for the remaining £60,000 a year the company will undertake to convey her Majesty's mails, stores, and troops free of cost. The mails throughout the year, the warlike stores, or any other stores her Majesty might choose to send, and the conveyance of the troops free of cost, whenever her Majesty may choose to send them. That, sir, is the proposal which we wish to make to her Majesty's Government.

I may say that the meeting appointed a financial committee to confer with you in case her Majesty's Government should feel generally disposed to afford us any guarantee, and should wish to confer with respect to the amount of that guarantee, and the details of it; and that committee would wait upon you at your convenience in case you feel favourably disposed to entertain the proposals.

I may add to this, that a memorial has been prepared for presentation to you, embodying the resolutions of the first meeting, which was held at the Thatched-house Tavern, on Saturday week, and also embodying the resolutions of the adjourned meeting, held on Saturday last, touching the financial part of it. I will hand this to you, but

it is subject to a slight alteration in the latter part of it, so that perhaps you will not consider it as quite complete.

I omitted to state a very important fact touching the political aspect of this railway, and that is this: The harbour of Halifax is the only harbour, even so far south as New York, which is never closed by ice; you can enter the harbour of Halifax at all seasons of the year. The map before you, sir, will show it satisfactorily to you. The distance from Halifax to Boston is 400 miles, and by the route from Liverpool as shown on that map, you will land at Halifax and proceed upon British territory, thus effecting a saving of 400 miles by sea. New York is 200 miles further than Boston, and then you would have to come up to Montreal. The part down to St. Thomas's is completed, and the part from Halifax to Truro is completed, and it is in the course of construction from St. Thomas to Trois Pistoles, and that makes the difference in the estimate of the £5,000,000 and the £3,000,000.

Sir E. BULWER-LYTTON.—I think the question divides itself into two great divisions: one is the political and the other is the financial. So far as the political is concerned, which more immediately comes under my notice, I have given the best consideration I can to the subject, and I think that the imperial advantages are not exaggerated. I think that there is a sufficient degree of imperial advantage to be derived from the proposed line to justify, to my mind, the Government in giving assistance to the colonies; and the more I look at the great importance of it, the more favourable I think the proposed course is.

But then there comes the other question, which clearly does not come into my department, which is the financial, and that is really a question for the Chancellor of the Exchequer. It is a question for him to consider whether he thinks the financial state of the country would justify it, and he also has to consider how far he thinks there would be a sufficient degree of Parliamentary support for such a purpose. All I can say is, if he will agree, I should be myself exceedingly proud and excessively happy to assist in carrying it out. (Hear, hear.) But I cannot say anything upon that. That is not at all in my department. I think that there are difficulties. You know very well the great difficulties there are in obtaining through Parliament anything like guarantees for loans for colonial purposes; and in order to carry that out you must make out a very strong case, not as to the colonial advantages only, but as to the imperial advantages. As far as I have been able to look at it, which is only within a short time, I must say it appears to me that there are very good grounds for stating there are imperial advantages.

With regard to the speculation, so far as it is a speculation, I have only been able to see a good deal of contradictory evidence, and I cannot pronounce an opinion upon it. A good deal will, of course, depend upon what is the population through which the railway will have to pass. There is a large tract of land, which is

stated in one of these reports to be a kind of extended village, in which there is a good deal of scattered population.

Mr. ROEBUCK, M.P.—Sir Edward, you ought to bear in mind that at the present moment we do incur a certain amount of expense. We transmit our post, we transmit our warlike stores, and also our troops to Canada—that united makes up an annual sum. Now, the post alone makes up an annual sum of £25,000. That is a matter which annually occurs. That would be done away with entirely by the proposed plan, as I understand the noble lord. (Hear, hear.) The railway company undertakes to convey the post of her Majesty from Halifax to Quebec—that is included in the grant of £60,000 a year. Besides that, they undertake to transmit all the stores that her Majesty may choose to send to Quebec, and also all the troops that her Majesty may choose to send to Quebec: so that all those three items together ought to be considered as diminishing the expenses of our guarantee. That is, we are, by a sort of forethought, making a contract to conduct our troops, our post, and our stores for £60,000 a year across that portion of the territory. (Hear, hear.)

The Hon. Mr. Justice HALIBURTON.—Sir, there is one thing I must beg leave to mention: This is to be distinguished from almost all other railways. This is not a colonial railway as affects Canada, New Brunswick, or Nova Scotia individually, but as affecting the whole of them, and as affecting their intercourse with this country. Mr. Roebuck has put that in a very forcible way. With respect to the carriage of the mails, which is an actual expenditure at the present moment in the shape of a charge on the revenue, you will observe that the mail goes to Boston, it is carried to New York, and in either case, whether it goes to Boston or New York, before it can reach Canada and the British possessions there, it has to pass through the United States. The treaty by which that right is given to England contains within it a clause that it can be annulled on six weeks' notice being given by either party. At the time when Mr. Collins put on his rival steamships to that magnificent line, that marvellous line of Mr. Cunard's, they wanted, as they usually do in the States, to get some advantage under the contract; that was refused, and the very moment it was refused there was an abrupt notice given which terminated the postal arrangement, in consequence of which the whole country was thrown into the greatest possible confusion. For six months in the year Canada is shut up, relying on this line sending the mails through the United States. No means have been taken for making a practical carriage wheel-road into Canada. It would occasion interminable delay, to go all the way round the Pacific, and send the mail through Vancouver's Island. We ought not to be at the mercy of a foreign power for carrying the mails to our own possessions. I want further to state—this is something which perhaps neither you nor myself may live to see carried out; but, beyond all manner of

doubt, it is the destiny of this country to have a complete inter-colonial communication all the way, from the Atlantic to the Pacific ocean by Vancouver's Island; and there is now, from the entrance of the St. Lawrence to the head of Lake Superior, a larger inland navigation than from Liverpool to New York (which is upwards of 3,700 miles). From the embouchure of that river in British territory up to the head of Lake Superior in British territory, it would take a vessel with the same power a longer time to go up through that natural canal than it would to go from Liverpool to that country. After this is done, you will have an outlet for all the western waters; all the produce that they have in that part of world must come by this railway to the nearest port of Halifax on the Atlantic, between England and America. Then comes the Hudson's Bay Company on the other side, and it is not saying too much, after the evidence that has been recently given by gentlemen who have gone over there—and there is one gentleman in this room who has, I understand, been twice there—that the land there is capital. From Vancouver's Island you have access across to the Pacific and our Indian possessions, and which you will thus reach through British colonies without any interruption. We have no Filibusters there. We have no story of Nicaraguan Canal, or the Suez Canal, or any other canals which cannot be cut. Here are things that are practicable—they begin piece by piece. Through Canada there are locks to connect the lakes and railways at certain points. There is a railway through Nova Scotia, and now it wants but this little bit, and then you get a communication all the way from Halifax to the head of Lake Superior, and thence to Vancouver's Island through open country.

But there is another fact: This is not a grant or a guarantee; it is, in fact, a contract to a certain extent. You are to pay this company what you are now paying the American government for the transmission of your mails. It is a company which you can constrain by courts of law and by means of which you can reach them as British subjects. You cannot constrain the Americans to the fulfilment of any treaty (I do not think it is in their power to fulfil a treaty, and I do not think they have the disposition to do it if they had the power), but this is a company that can be constrained to do it. But there are considerations far beyond all that. There are ramifications and consequences which cannot be easily foreseen in the first instance,—one is the reduction of her Majesty's expenditure. If you have a railway from Halifax you need not keep troops in Canada for its defence; for in eleven days they can be sent from Chatham to any point of Canada; they would get to Halifax in nine days, and in two days the greater portion of Canada would be under protection, and that is as soon as the Americans could discipline, embody, and march their troops. Therefore you do not want to keep such a military force, and all the saving that is constituted out of that state of things must be put also to the credit of this railway. Now, during the last war it was the disposition of the Go-

vernment to withdraw the troops. They wanted a regiment; they put it off for too long a time, and they had to wait for six months, as they could not come out; they wanted to get the stores, and they could not bring them through the United States, because it would be contravening the neutrality treaty.

You should look at it as a national and intercolonial question, and not as colonial merely; and you should look at it for the postal communication, and also that it will (which is highly desirable) connect those colonies in a way that there shall be the same communion and the same confederation. You have now five different colonies there, and those five different colonies have five different sets of customs, five different tariffs, and five different sets of laws. We know as little of what goes on in Nova Scotia, at Toronto, or at Kingston, as we do of what goes on at Dantzic or Hongkong. I can much easier go now from here to St. Petersburg than I can go from Halifax to Quebec.

Sir E. BULWER-LYTTON.—Indeed!

The Hon. Justice HALIBURTON.—I can do so much more comfortably and at half the cost.

LORD BURY.—There is no road between the two—not even a track.

Sir E. BULWER-LYTTON.—Where is the part of the railroad that has been already laid down?

Lord BURY.—There is a part from Halifax to Truro, and a part from Quebec to St. Thomas, and from St. Thomas to Trois Pistoles, that which is dotted on the map.

Sir E. BULWER-LYTTON.—Is that all the railway?

Lord BURY.—As soon as you get into Canada there are 2,000 miles of railway.

Sir E. BULWER-LYTTON.—Mr. Cunard, I think you have some property in Prince Edward's Island?

Mr. CUNARD.—Yes.

Sir E. BULWER-LYTTON.—Would that feed this railway at all?

Mr. CUNARD.—It would be a great facility to the island. It would pass very near, and would benefit it. You remarked just now that the Government were indisposed to make grants for colonial railways. Now, this is not a colonial railway, nor an intercolonial one, but it is a *great national road*—it is a *great military road*, and it should be viewed in this country as such, and not as a colonial one.

Sir E. BULWER-LYTTON.—There are various ways of putting it; I should think it was a GREAT NATIONAL ROAD.

Mr. CUNARD.—*It really is so.* For six months in the year you can have no access to Canada in a military point of view; you cannot bring troops from Canada, neither can you take troops to aid and assist them. That we saw during the last year or two; and therefore I think that we should view it as a military road, and as a great national road. You pay nothing for it. You become liable to pay £60,000 a year, and you get it back before you pay it. You

actually get it back as a saving before you spend the money. Somebody has said that it cost £25,000 a year for the postage. I believe it is so. Then, if you would have to convey troops, see what you would save! You would save three regiments in Canada and the provinces, because you could have them where you pleased at any one point. You might have troops at Halifax, and send them up the country if you wanted, or you might bring them home. You would save more than £60,000 a year in those different items which were mentioned.

Lord BURY.—Sir, would you recommend this deputation, then, to wait upon the Chancellor of the Exchequer with the view of hearing his opinion upon the subject?

Sir E. BULWER-LYTTON.—It would be a very wise thing to do.

Lord BURY.—And we may say to him, as far as you are concerned—

Sir E. BULWER-LYTTON.—THAT IT HAS RECEIVED MY MOST FAVOURABLE ATTENTION.

Lord BURY.—We are much obliged to you, sir, for the courtesy and kindness with which you have received us.

The deputation then withdrew.

**DEPUTATION to the Right Honourable BENJAMIN
DISRAELI, Chancellor of the Exchequer, on Tues-
day, the 15th day June, 1858.**

The Deputation consisted of the following Noblemen and Gentlemen :—

Viscount BURY, M.P.	The Rt. Hon. SOTHERON ESTCOURT, M.P.
Viscount GODERICH, M.P.	W. H. GORE LANGTON, Esq., M.P.
The Hon. Sir ALLAN N. MACNAB, Bart.	H. W. SCHNEIDER, Esq., M.P.
The Hon. C. W. W. FITZWILLIAM, M.P.	JOHN NEELD, Esq., M.P.
Capt. the Hon. JOHN VIVIAN, M.P.	R. P. NISBET, Esq., M.P.
The Hon. S. CUNARD.	JAS. WYLD, Esq., M.P.
The Hon. F. BERKELEY, M.P.	H. P. ROCHE, Esq.
The Hon. Justice HALIBURTON.	PASCOE GLYN, Esq.
J. A. ROEBUCK, Esq., M.P.	MR. NELSON.
Colonel BOLDERO, M.P.	Mr. BROTHERHOOD.
G. G. GLYN Esq., M.P.	Mr. SEWELL.
THOS. LUCE, Esq., M.P.	Mr. H. MASTERMAN.
WILLIAM ROUELL, Esq., M.P.	Mr. STEVENS.

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER.—My Lord Bury, I have got your papers, but I have not been able to look at them much. What I know, is what everybody knows who takes a popular view of the subject. You thought it of importance for the convenience of several gentlemen that I should see you to-day. It was only yesterday that you intimated your wish, and therefore I am not prepared to enter into all the details laid down, which otherwise I should have been very glad to have done; but I will now listen with the greatest pleasure to what you or any other gentleman may wish to say on the subject.

LORD BURY.—Sir, I am here to state to you the object of this deputation. The parties who are here represent a large body who are very much interested in all ways, both by knowledge of the

country and connection with Canada, and they have seen with very great displeasure, and great anxiety, that we are entirely dependent upon a foreign country for communication with that province, which at any moment may be cut off if we are at hostility with the United States. We have met together to discuss whether it will not be possible to obtain some communication entirely through a British territory from Halifax to Quebec. This deputation met, as you are aware, by appointment, the Colonial Secretary yesterday, and he received us with the greatest courtesy, and with expressions of sympathy in our views which were very cheering to us. We laid before him the position of matters; and in doing so, and as the spokesman of the deputation, I thought it my duty rather to urge upon him the political value of this line and its extreme importance in a national point of view, than to enlarge upon the commercial part of the undertaking. He perfectly agreed in the political importance of the line; but he said, as we asked for a Government guarantee or Government assistance, it would come within your province, and he dismissed us with a general expression of sympathy with the objects of the meeting, and, of course, carefully guarding himself against expressing any opinion as to whether her Majesty's Government would feel it to be their duty to recommend any such guarantee.

Perhaps, as you have been so kind as to inform us that you have not had time to look through the papers, I may be permitted to mention one or two of the prominent matters which render this important in a national point of view. In the first place we are now, as I have already said, entirely dependent upon the United States for our communications with the most important colonies. We have either to go to Portland in the State of Maine, and to traverse that State in order to reach the Missouri, or, if we have to go to New York, which is 200 miles further, we have to traverse the State of New York in order to get to the same point. Portland is from Liverpool, as compared with Halifax, 400 miles greater distance, and New York is 600 miles; and even when we have arrived at New York or Portland, we have to traverse a great extent of foreign territory. That that is a very great inconvenience I need not point out; and it would still be a greater inconvenience if any difficulty should arise with the United States. A difficulty of that sort did occur during the late war, although not in a hostile point of view, when it was desirable, as I mentioned to the Colonial Secretary yesterday, to convey stores which were at Quebec, for the assistance of the army in the Crimea. The law officers of the Crown gave it as their opinion that it would be a contravention of the neutrality laws to carry those stores over a neutral territory; consequently the stores which were urgently wanted in the Crimea were, by the freezing of the St. Lawrence, unable to obtain an exit from Canada to the Crimea, and were shut up there when very much wanted elsewhere. You are aware that for six and sometimes seven months in the year, the gulf of St. Lawrence is absolutely impene-

trable on account of the ice, and for those months the British colonies are entirely shut out from communication with England.

Then there is another thing; When once we get into Canada we find lines running away to the west in every direction, and, I believe, as Sir Allan Macnab will inform us, 2,000 miles of railway are already in active operation in Canada towards the west.

Sir ALLAN MACNAB.—There are railways in Canada from Quebec to the Detroit river, and the Great Western Railway, nearly finished to Port Sarnia, and from Lake Ontario to Lake Simcoe.

Lord BURY.—And that, with the navigation of Lake Superior, will form an uninterrupted communication from the easternmost part of Canada to the westernmost, longer in point of fact than that from Liverpool to America. A very great amount of traffic passes over that. The Valley of the Saskatchewan, which lies between Lake Superior and the Rocky Mountains, and the Valley of the Columbia, which runs from the Rocky Mountains into the Pacific, affords the very greatest facilities for the subsequent formation of steam communication from that point, and for the intervening communication between the Atlantic and the Pacific; and the one link of that chain which is wanting is that from Halifax to Quebec. I think anybody who examines the subject, cannot but feel some astonishment that it should have been left unattended to. If this railway were constructed, the post, which now goes through the State of Main and the State of New York, would be conveyed through British territory. The treaty by which that post is now conveyed is terminable at the option of either party on giving six weeks' notice; and at the time that the Collins' line of steamers was established to compete with Mr. Cunard's steam communication, the American people, wishing to obtain some advantage which we did not consider consistent with our national welfare, gave notice that in six weeks the postal communication with Canada would be entirely suspended; and as that occurred in the winter, we had either to patch up the differences with the United States at some cost to ourselves, or otherwise we should have had to send it round by way of the Pacific. We were absolutely dependent upon them. That I think is an argument in favour of the national importance of this line. I am informed that the amount which the British Government pay for the conveyance of the mails to the United States is between £25,000 and £30,000 a year; and if we obtain these terms, which I will proceed to state to you, we should be happy to convey her Majesty's mails, and not only her mails, but her troops and stores, free of charge. That sum would be a sort of set-off against the sum which we would ask her Majesty's Government to grant to us.

Now, having touched upon the political importance of this line, which, of course, as a statesman, will have more value with you than any other, I will proceed to touch upon the commercial interests of the line. The legislatures of Canada, New Brunswick, and Nova Scotia, as you will see by the papers which are before you, have

each of them guaranteed to her Majesty's Government £20,000, making in all £60,000, towards the completion of this line. And they have also guaranteed to her Majesty all crown lands within ten miles of the proposed route—I mean the crown lands in the hands of the colonies; they call them crown lands—and all private lands requisite for the construction, not only of this line, but for the stations and buildings: that is £60,000 granted to her Majesty's Government.

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER.—Annually?

LORD BURY.—Yes, and the land, with the line itself when constructed, would be extremely valuable, and would probably repay the expense of its construction. The estimated amount of the capital required for the construction of the whole line is about £3,000,000 sterling; so that this £60,000 granted by the Colonial Legislatures amounts to a guarantee of about £2 per cent. upon the whole capital. We do not presume to lay down any positive terms on which we will treat with her Majesty's Government, but as her Majesty's Government cannot be expected to take the initiative in a matter of this sort, we wish to state what would be satisfactory to the company. The Deputation which is here, have appointed a Finance Committee to discuss with you the details of this matter, if you should intimate your readiness to enter into the subject at all, and I hope such may be the case. We would ask, as the first proposal, that her Majesty's Government should, in consideration of the conveyance of the mails, troops, and stores, as I have said before, propose to Parliament to give us another annual sum of £60,000, equal to the annual sum of £60,000 guaranteed by the Colonial Legislature, and the crown lands granted by them, making in all £120,000, which is £4 per cent. upon the required capital, estimated for the construction of the line. I may state that, out of that £60,000, there is a *quid pro quo*, and I would rather wish to insist upon that point; so that the remaining portion would be about £30,000 a year, and the asset that I would put against that would be the conveyance of the troops and stores, and the *extreme national importance* of our being connected, and having the facility of communicating with the Canadas; and I submit to you whether that altogether would not form a reason why her Majesty's Government should, at least, entertain the proposal in the beginning. The harbour of Halifax, I should have mentioned, enjoys the advantage which I believe is not shared by any of the harbours south of New York, nor even Charleston in south Carolina, of being open at all seasons of the year. Halifax is never closed up. The harbours south of Halifax are closed up. Boston and New York are very often closed, and Halifax is the only port which is always open.

THE HON. C. W. W. FITZWILLIAM, M.P.—I think Lord Bury has forgotten to point out that, supposing the line is made, the £25,000 that are annually paid to the United States are no longer necessary.

LORD BURY.—I pointed that out.

The CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER.—That is for postage. That is under a treaty. What is the distance from Halifax to Quebec?

Lord BURY.—Nearly 700 miles.

Mr. NELSON.—635 miles.

Lord BURY.—But 170 miles are already constructed, or in course of construction, and the line that we shall have to construct will be about 460 miles.

Mr. NELSON.—The distance from Halifax to Quebec is 635 miles, 170 miles of that are in the course of construction at the present time, so that the distance is reduced to 465.

The CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER.—Constructed by this company?

The Hon. Sir ALLAN MACNAB.—No. The Grand Trunk Railway Company is constructing the line from Quebec to Trois Pistoles, and the Government of Nova Scotia the line from Halifax to Truro.

The CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER.—Is this company just formed?

Mr. WYLD, M.P.—Yes.

The CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER.—For the specific purpose of forming a line from Halifax to Quebec?

Mr. NELSON.—More properly speaking that part of it which is not already made, from Truro to Trois Pistoles.

Lord BURY.—I forgot to mention that when the Colonial legislatures granted the £60,000 to her Majesty they granted it on condition that her Majesty would undertake the work, either by the Government or by a private company. What we *want* is to be recognized as *that* private company, to carry out, as her Majesty's instrument, the work. If we are so recognized we instantly become possessed of those advantages that are held out.

The CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER.—There has been no attempt to raise capital for this company?

Mr. WYLD, M.P.—None sir. First of all they must ask whether her Majesty's Government would entertain this proposition, and if her Majesty's Government will entertain it, then immediately the capital will be raised.

The CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER.—What is the date of forming this company?

Lord BURY.—The project was submitted to Lord Grey in 1849.

The CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER.—I remember that, but that was not a company. When was this company first projected.

Lord BURY.—A few days ago.

Mr. WYLD, M.P.—Lord Bury has omitted to state to you a most important advantage which will appear to you as a statesman, that if this railway were completed, and war should occur, England would be the base of its operations, and Chatham would be only thirteen days from Canada. You could run in nine days from Chatham to Halifax.

The CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER.—Have you submitted any memorial to the Secretary of State.

Lord BURY.—Yes, explaining the resolutions that were passed at a meeting held at the Thatched-house Tavern on Saturday week. That is a copy of it [handing it to the Chancellor of the Exchequer]. There may be a slight alteration to make in it of a few words at the end.

The CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER.—I understand from you, Lord Bury, that besides the 60,000*l.* which you require from the parliamentary grant, there is another sum of 30,000*l.* I did not exactly understand that.

Lord BURY.—No, sir. 60,000*l.* from her Majesty's Government and 60,000*l.* from the Colonial Legislatures and the crown lands to be voted, making in all 120,000*l.*

The CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER.—You mentioned another sum.

Lord BURY.—No, I said 60,000*l.* That 60,000*l.* that we should ask of her Majesty's Government would be reduced by 30,000*l.* which is now paid for the carriage of the mails across the United States.

The CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER.—I quite understand. I have no hesitation in saying *as everybody must feel*, that this is an object of the *greatest importance and most desirable to be accomplished*. I should like very much to go into the financial part of it before I could speak with any precision upon the recommendation that I should give. You say there are gentlemen in this room who can communicate with me upon it.

Mr. SCHNEIDER, M.P.—Sir, there is one thing you should bear in mind—that is, the present state of railway enterprise in this country, and especially after what has occurred with regard to the Grand Trunk Railway. If her Majesty's Government do not feel it their duty to grant this £60,000, the line would be practically hopeless, and you will not find a class of shareholders to subscribe shares without there is a certain guarantee from Government. This guarantee would be £4 per cent., which would be little enough. A £4 per cent. guarantee upon the original estimate would induce anybody to embark in it; and, therefore, in this case it is not a question of getting a guarantee of £4 per cent. for the sake of making a line pay, but really as the foundation on which the line itself can be made. You would never raise the money without there was a certain guarantee of £4 per cent. upon the original capital.

The Hon. Sir ALLAN MACNAB.—I think the estimate made of the quantity of land is 4,000,000 of acres.

The CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER.—Have you a real estimate of the probable expenses?

Lord BURY.—There is a detailed estimate of Colonel Robinson, and there is a copy of a report of Captain Henderson.

Mr. NELSON.—Sir, you have before you the plans and sections which are in the possession of the Colonial Secretary, which are most elaborate.

Lord BURY.—You asked whether there was any gentleman in this country who would be prepared to enter into that. Colonel Robinson

is himself here, and he surveyed the whole line. He would be the best man to refer to.

Mr. NELSON.—He has gone very fully into the financial part of the subject.

The CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER.—*It is not an UNFAVOURABLE PERIOD for undertaking THESE GREAT WORKS*, if you can agree upon any arrangement. I can only say that I am *duly impressed* with the great importance of it; and your (Lord Bury's) very clear and lucid statement has revived my recollection. I remember a great deal on this point when Lord Grey was in office. It certainly is, in every point of view, *a matter of the highest consideration*, and I will confer with Sir Edward Bulwer-Lytton immediately upon it. I will not lose any time. Perhaps I had better communicate with you, Lord Bury?

Lord BURY.—If you please, sir.

The CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER.—This resolution is signed, and I see the direction of this company will be formed chiefly of persons in this country.

Lord BURY.—The directors are not appointed; but seven gentlemen have signed the deed of association.

The CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER.—Have you any deputation from Canada here?

Lord BURY.—A deputation has been here, but the company was not then formed. Mr. Cunard's name is amongst them.

The CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER.—Is Mr. Cunard here?

Lord BURY.—No; he is so unwell that he could not attend to-day, and also Lord Goderich and other gentlemen have expressed their regret that they could not attend.

Mr. NELSON.—Mr. Cunard is unfortunately too unwell to attend to-day. He attended yesterday at the Colonial Office, and he is only very sorry he cannot attend here to-day.

The CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER.—I am sorry I have not heard him.

Lord BURY.—I thought Mr. Haliburton would have been here to-day,—he is also absent.

The Hon. Sir ALLAN MACNAB.—He would have been here to-day, but he was not quite certain whether you could receive us.

Mr. NELSON.—I may state that Mr. Cunard will be one of the directors of the company.

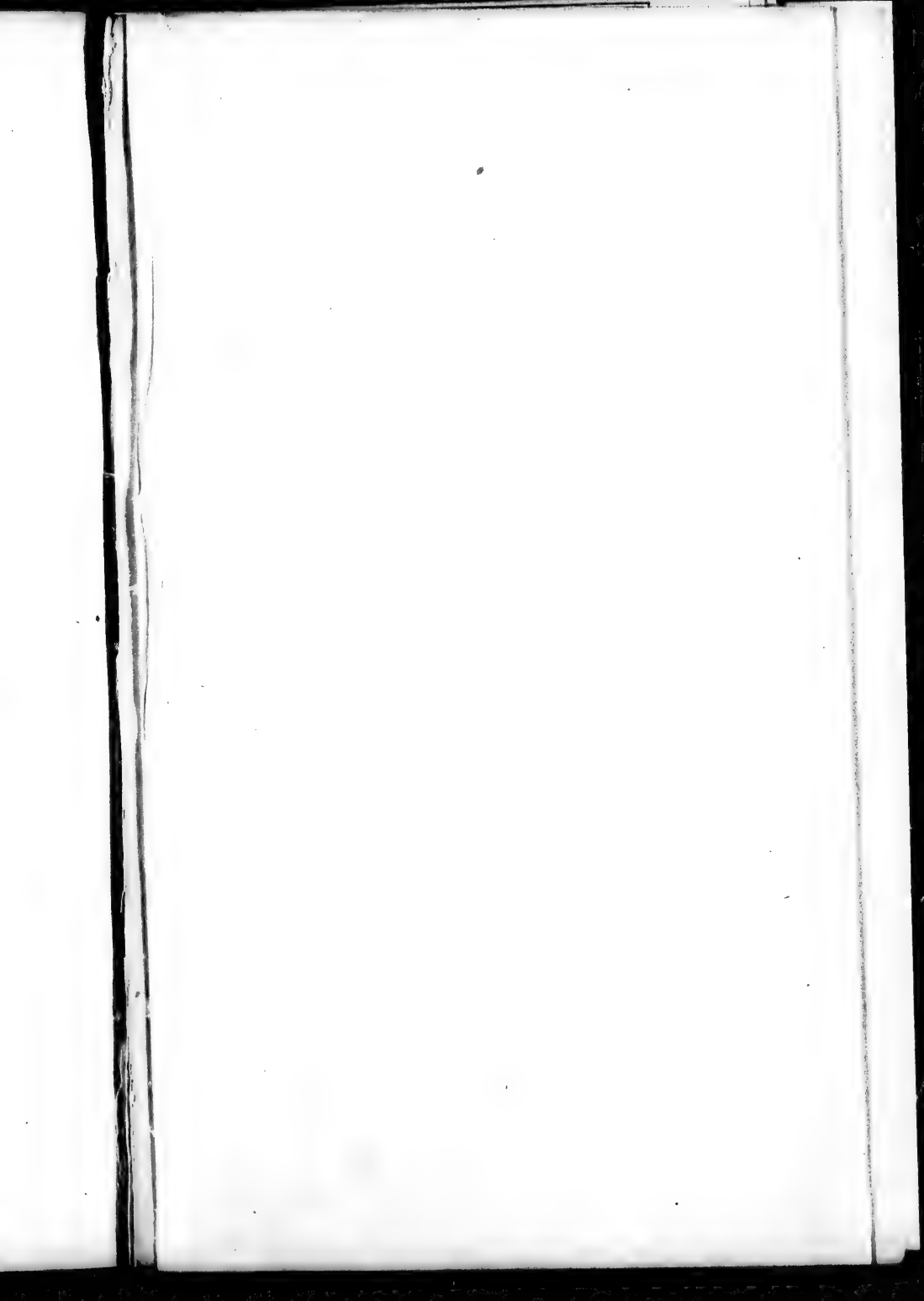
The CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER.—Does the Collins's line of packets run now?

Mr. NELSON.—No, they have ceased.

Mr. WYLD, M.P.—The United States have withdrawn them.

The CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER.—Well, gentlemen, all I can say is that I will give this undertaking an **EARLY AND ATTENTIVE CONSIDERATION**, and will communicate with Lord Bury.

The Deputation, having thanked the Chancellor of the Exchequer, then withdrew.







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AS SURVEYED BY MAJ
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BRITISH N.A.

N O R T H A T L A N T I C

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BRITIS

NEWFOUNDLAND

2184 Miles

Halifax to Galway

2466 Miles

Halifax to Liverpool

MAP
OF THE
Trunk Line of Railway
FROM HALIFAX TO QUEBEC.

AS SURVEYED BY MAJOR ROBINSON & CAPTAIN HENDERSON, ROYAL ENGINEERS,
AND APPROVED BY THE IMPERIAL GOVERNMENT.

Shewing the position of

HALIFAX.

in reference to the principal Cities of the
BRITISH N.A. COLONIES, THE UNITED STATES & EUROPE.

